David Lacey in Kishiney

T LEAST England are on their way. Glenn Hoddle's term of office might have begun a trifle nervously in the Republican Stadium here on Sunday, as his team worked out the new coach's plan of action, but England's scoring habits of Euro 96 did not desert them.

Moldova, clever going forward but defensively naive, were beaten comfortably enough as England stole a late summer's march on their World Cup rivals. Two quick goals in the first half, from Nick Barmby and Paul Gascoigne, gave England an anshakeable grip and a third just past the hour from Alan Shearer, the nation's 100th captain, confirmed their mounting superiority.

Matthew Le Tissier made a brief entrance in this quiet, leafy glade in the hinterland of world football, coming on near the end of a warm evening's work which ended with an echo of the European Championship as the opposition missed a

Still, something will have to be done at the back before England encounter Poland, Georgia and Italy. Lacking the authority of Tony Adams, Hoddle's remodelled defence looked ill at ease until Paul face gained a grip of the midfield

Cryptic crossword by Plodge

Injuries had deprived Hoddle of several regular members of Terry Venables's European Championship side. Seaman, Southgate, Ince. Gascoigne and Shearer were still there but now Gary Neville and the newly capped Andy Hinchcliffe were England's wing-backs whereas Venables had preferred to use forwards in

Thus Hoddle wasted no time carrying out his declared intention of basing England on the tactical patterns he had employed at Chelsea. His selection of the 21-year-old David Beckham, the other new cap, also fufilled his promise to give youth an early chance, and the youngster looked worth another outing.

Yet all plans take time to bed down. Ideally Hoddle would have liked a friendly match before needing to think about the World Cup, and the opening 20 minutes saw his defenders struggling to come to terms with the new script.

Moldova, neat-passing and inventive, wasted no time exploiting the space that opened up as defenders looked at one another in apparent bennisement. Testimitanu, dividing his time between marking Shearer and setting up attacks, was a particular threat on the left.

Fortunately for England, Moiand set up a base for England's at-tacks, but England never really ap-peared sure of themselves when



Expansive gesture . . . Paul Gascoigne makes room for himself to

Miterev and Popovici clear, but first one, then the other saw weak shots palmed down by Seaman. At this stage, with Neville obvi

ously unsure about the wing-backs' role, and Southgate, Pallister and Pearce looking uncomfortable in triplicate England were heading for defensive slough. But once they began to gather attacking momentum the vulnerability of the Moldovan defence in the air was soon apparent, and England scored in the 24th and 26th minutes of the

Beckham and Hincheliffe switched play from left to right and Neville's steep centre dropped behind Shearer to Barmby, whose sharp first-time shot flew low into the near corner of the net.

The simplicity of the goal gave England much encouragement and

5 The constant application of a

7 The Medici's brother Filippo

B At a drill ordered in Bible on the

9 The first of 8 reckons to take a

alternative to double glazing,

9 It's wrong, that Carol should stand

metre to change gear (13)

Slight article admitted an

a Lancashire recipe (3, 6)

outside the pub (7)

20 Comparatively large swall

by heads of state (7)

22 Albert Square's deserted

noses wrinkle (5)

tourniquet (7)

a carving stone (9)

Sounds saucyl (5)

potter's field (8, 5)

perhaps (9)

already lunging in to score. Moldova deserved a consolation goal on effort alone and thought they would get it when Pearce 4 Vans of this type ain't haif strongl volleyed an intended clearance on to an arm to concede a penalty. This time Seaman was beaten but Testimitanu's kick rebounded from the 6 A left-wing teacher lost his head on

Moldova considerable angst. Two

minutes later Ince waved a boot at

Barmby's cross, risking being pe-

nalised for raising a foot to the goal-

keeper, but the referee allowed the

challenge and, after the ball had

spun up off Ince's toecap, Gas-

goigne nodded it in under the cross-

England might have doubled

their score by half-time. Testimitanu

got away with pulling down Shearer

near the penalty spot and then the

new captain wafted the ball over the

bar after Gascoigne and Barmby

Nevertheless Shearer's now habi-

tual goal for England followed in the

61st minute. Southgate and Neville

created the opening and, although

Secu managed to touch the ball to-

wards his goalkeeper, Shearer was

had set up a simple opportunity.

angle of post and bar. That more or less completed a quietly satisfactory start for Hoddle, which was slightly spoiled by the yellow card shown to Pearce and Ince for gratuitous fouls in the second half. Cautions can soon catch up with a team in the World Cup and Hoddle will not have wanted to risk losing these players for the tougher

Tricky problem to a cook following In their Group Four match, Scotland could only manage a goalless draw against Austria in Vienna. Meanwhile in Eschen, the Republic of Ireland trounced Liechtenstein 5-0 in Group Eight. The only home nation to lose were Northern Ireland in Group Nine, losing 1-0 to

Wales 6 San Marino 0

Wales cry foul after victory

Martin Thorpe in Cardiff

N the search for fairness Fifa is in danger of ending up with point-lessness. The obvious desire to see all nations represented in the World Cup had to be questioned on Saturday when a San Marino side who should not be playing at this level decided that instead of learning from a superior side they would teach Wales a lesson in the black erts of fouls, elbows and dives.

As an indirect result Ryan Giggs vill now miss Wales's crucial next qualifier at home to Holland, having been booked for applauding player's theatrical fall when the reeree thought the sarcasm was di-

The booking only compounds Wales's sense of injustice. As Dean Saunders put it: "Ryan gets booked for that and the referee's missing waist-high tackles. Someone could have got badly injured. There's obviously a question-mark about playing teams like that."

San Marino's football was so inept that in 90 minutes they did not produce one shot on target, win one corner or force Southall during his 72 minutes on the pitch to take one goal-kick. When the Wales keeper was replaced — presumably be cause he was in danger of suffering sunstroke - the out-classed part timers did force two goal-kicks but their one shot anywhere near goal ballooned 3 metres over the bar.

The Marinese displayed all the bad points of Italian football and none of the best. Although the referee issued the visitors with five yellow cards, which included having a man sent off, it was a poor response to their intent.

"When they were 4-0 down they just decided to start kicking," said Saunders. Giggs wisely hid himself away on the left wing and kept his runs to a minimum. Although Giggs should have known better than get involved as he did for his booking he was still Wales's classiest playe and contributed to three goals.

In between Hughes headed the second, the keeper's error let in Robinson for his debut goal, an other defensive mistake gifte Hughes the fifth and Wales also hit the woodwork four times.

They now sit atop the Group Seven table, albeit with games against Holland, Turkey and Bel gium to come. At least they know that, if they subsequently get kicked off the top of the table, it will only be metaphorically speaking.

Saddam's victory **humiliates Clinton**

Chris Nuttell in Salahuddin and lan Black in London

Week ending September 15, 1996

Vol 155, No 11

■ URDISH forces backed by Iraq took almost total control of Kurdistan on Monday, handing President Saddam Hussein a proxy victory and the West its most serious strategic reverse in the region since the invasion of Kuwait

As President Clinton, facing lumiliation before November's elections, conceded there was little the United States could do to help, guerrilla fighters of the Baghdad-backed Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) captured the key city of Sulaynaniyah from their longtime rival the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and sent thousands of refugees pouring towards the bor-

The capture of Sulaymaniyah, 45km from the Iranian border and the region's largest city, established effective Iraqi control of 80 per cent of Kurdistan, It spelt an end to the the US and British-backed humanitarian Operation Provide Comfort in the northern "safe haven" set up in 1991 after the Gulf war.

The KDP, under the leadership of Massoud Barzani, said in a statement that it controlled the whole of



It was immediately feared that it

northern Iraq. "The KDP is in control of all the three Kurdish provinces," it said.

Iraqi troops or armour involved in the fighting, the swift defeat of the the hollowness of the Western strategy of containing President Saddam, including last week's

cations centres in southern Iraq.

As the dust settled, Mr Clinton's

Only Britain gave the US full military and diplomatic support, with John Major insisting the Iraqi leader had to be punished.

Warren Christopher, the US secretary of state, on a brief European tour, met the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, and President Jacques Chirac, but failed to persuade them to overcome their

European Union member states.

This week, with the balance of

"This is a victory for Saddam," he Le Monde, page 13

Although there were no signs of

PUK, led by Jalal Talabani, exposed cruise missile attacks in the south.

The missiles, fired from US naval ships in the Gulf and R-52 bombers on September 3 and 4, hit air defence and command and communi-

biggest difficulty was with his European and Arab allies, many of whom saw his action as driven by the presidential elections.

US and British officials played down the extent of international opposition to the attacks, insisting they flowed from UN resolutions, but the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring, acknowledged that there were "very different views" among

In Moscow, where the government has been critical of the US attacks, the ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky said Mr Clinton was "worse than Hitler".

power radically changed — and Turkey establishing a security zone on its border - Ahmed Chalabi, the executive president of the Westernbacked Iraqi opposition, the Iraqi National Congress (INC), warned that Iran might now respond to calls for intervention by the PUK and begin a proxy war.

said. "He has won a battle but not

Kurdish fighters with the Baghdad-backed KDP advance on Sulaymaniyah, the last important northern Iraq city, which they captured from the rival PUK on Monday

the war. This means that Saddam is Iran appeals for refugee aid

Iraql opposition forces have been RAN appealed on Monday for aid to assist Iraqi Kurda fleeing stressing for days the significant presence of Iraqi secret police in Kurdistan, despite the apparent fighting in northern Iraq, and said that almost 200,000 Iragi withdrawal of regular Iraqi military refugees were huddled on its forces after the capture of Irbil on borders.

TheGuardian

August 31. "Saddam's security forces will now move in after the KDP and there will be a bunt for opposition people," Mr Chalabi said. "The stage is set for a political deal between the KDP and Saddam."

A UN refugee official in Geneva said up to 10,000 people were re-ported to have fled Sulaymaniyah.

Despite Mr Clinton's promises "to help anybody that needs to be out of Iraq", US officials confirmed that 96 Iraqi defectors and INC supporters were executed in Irbil early last week, apparently on suspicion of links to the CIA.

Washington Post, page 15

The Michigan Mail Walteral

State-run Tehran radio quotes Ahmad Hosselni, Tehran's top

official in charge of refugees, as saying Iran would make it possible for countries and international organisations to provide relief in camps in border areas. Mr Hosseini said Iran had no plans to let refugees in unless their lives were in danger. He said about 30,000 refugees were

gathered in border regions of Iran's Kurdistan province. 25,000 were alongside West Azerbaijan province, and 60,000 were at the border in Kermanshah province.

Mr Hosseini said 500,000 Kurds were displaced by inter-Kurdish fighting around

Baghdad crushed Kurdish and Shi'ite Muslim uprisings that erupted after Irag's defeat in the Gulf war. Most Kurds have since returned to Iraq. — Reuter, AP

over Bosnia poli

Deng enters Mao's 5

destroys rainforests

Pope prays for peace in Ulster

> BF76 DK18 FM 10 DM 4

10 The girl-friend (perhaps Alma, the 11 Sounding, in the main, to have given old copper for new jelly (5)

12 After a sideshoot dispensed with Scarface? (5) 13 Turbulent as one Norman state

14 The panpsychist is back in a fog (7) 16 First-footing boss-lady had no right 18 Takes in Roman; he is in a bedsit

said, with one arm (9)

in Greenland (4, 5) 3 The flower that's said to make

25 The essential part is to be a

21 Invalid carriage for a healer, you

2 A narrow escape from trozen earth

23 Jog to the first swim on the south

26 Cooling-off process needed if a

Second Division: Bisckpool 0, Wycomba 0; second Division: Blackpool Q, Wycombe 0; Bournemouth 1, Peterborough 2; Bristor Rovers 1, Stockport 1; Bury 4, Bristol City 0; Crews 0, Watford 2; Gillinghern 0, Checterfield 1; Luton 1, Rotherham 0; Mewall 2, Burnley 1; Notta County 0, York 1; Shrawabury 0, Brentford 3, Leading positions: 1, Plymouth (4-10); 2, Brentford (4-10); 3, Bury (4-10). Hartlepool 0; Mansfald 0, Rochdele 0; Scar-borough 1, Northernpton 1; Torquey 2, Exelu-0; Wigan 4, Cheater 2, Leading positions 1, Wigen (4-10); 2, Fulham (4-9); 3, Hull (4-8).

Third Division: Abion 2, Cowdenbeelh 0; Arbroath 0, East Sthing 0; Montrose 2, Ross County 1; Queens Park 1, Forter 4; Inverses CT 1, Alice 0, Leading positionar 1, Albon (3-9); 2, Forter (3-8); 3, Cowdenbeelh (3-6).

Third Divisions Brighton 1, Scunihorpe 1; Cambridge 0, Cardiff 2; Colchester 1, Hare-ford 1; Doncaster 3, Datington 2; Fulham 1, Cartale 0; Hull 0, Barnet 0; Leyton Orient 2, © Guardian Publications Ltd., 1996. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

could have been a revenge attack cupation of the island.

for the killing of two Greek Cypriots last month during demonstrations at Dherynia against the Turkish oc-

the island was heading for calastrophe unless immediate action was ATURKISH Cypriot soldier was killed and another seriously wounded on Sunday after shots taken to reduce the growing tension between the communities.

were fired next to a section of the Turkish guard unit based in the British Sovereign Bases Area which separates the feuding communities village of Acheritou, which Turks call Guvercinlik.

row intercommunal dividing line.
The strip is part of British Sover-The Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktash, warned on Monday that

It is not far from a British military listening post where the 9th Signals Regiment is stationed. A road linking the listening post with the British base at Dhekella runs through a zone 100m wide which forms a nar-

eign Bases Area (SBA) territory, | English base and this soldier was | Mr Denktash.

but does not come under United Nations control like most of the buffer zone, and is patrolled by Greek and Turkish Cypriot police working for the British. The shooting occurred near a

An SBA statement said preliminary results of an investigation sug-gested the "criminals" had crossed from the Greek Cypriot side, and were technically outside its jurisdiction when they fired the shots. The statement stopped short of suggesting they were Greek Cypriots.

Turkey's foreign minister, Tansu Ciller, said: "We have learnt that

Cyprus tension rises after soldier killed shot, and I am afraid that we have found the guns used are actually similar to the guns used by the Greek (Cypriot) military." A government spokesman, Yian-

nakis Cassoulides, said a check of

all weapons carried by Nationa

Guardsmen in the area showed none had been fired. The two victims in Dherynia, Tassos Isaac and Solomos Solomou have been afforded virtual martyr-

dom among Greek Cypriots. Efforts by the UN and international diplomats to reduce the tension of the past few weeks have Ciller, said: "We have learnt that failed, with the Cypriot president, there was an infiltration from the Glafcos Clerides, refusing to meet

clothing and heating equipment.
"If world bodies send the needed aid in time we will be able to avoid a human tragedy, he said, adding that Iran was already providing emergency and medical help. He said that Iran was determined to avoid a repeat of what happened in 1991, when

500,000 refugees, most of them Kurds, fled to Iran when

Karadzic looms

South Africa's constitution stalled

twilight zone Chainsaw massacre 7

Belglum Denmark Finland

Norway NK 16 Portugal E300 Saudi Arabia SR 6.50 France

20 There's rubbish in the entry throttle 1 Decided during a trial to be accomplished (13)

24 Said to have let be the small-fry (5)

unsettled by thunder (5) 23 in this one may have some perception (5)

reformed, sinless, intransigent (9)

feminist works in the allotment (13)

Last week's solution

Last week's solution

POSTWAR MACDUFF
O Y O E I H M O
LEMUR LETTERBOX
Y P S I R R E T
GROTESQUE RULER
O S U P O
NO I SE ABSORBENT
U N R I E N
HAMADRYAD DUTCH
O U E R A
SOWER YABESCENT
T A A A O W M C
ARGENTINA OBEAH
G E C N R R T E
EARNEST DRESSER

Football results and leading positions

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE: First Division: Bradford 1, Tranmere 0; Grimsby 0, Porlamouth 1; Huddersfield 1, Crystal Palace 1; Norwich 1, Wolvas 0; Olcham 3, Ipawich 3; Port Vale 2, Oxford 0; OPP 1, Bolton 2; Reading 2, Stoke 2; Southerd 1, Swindon 3, Leading positione: 1, Bolton (played 4, points 10); 2, Stoke (4-10); 3, Barmsley (3-9).

BCOTTISH LEAQUE: First Division: Morton 1, Falkri, 0; Partick 1, St Miran 1; String Albion 1, Dundee 1, Leading posi-tions: 1, Morton (3-6); 2, Dundee (3-6); 3, St Johnston (2-4)

Second Division: Ayr 6, Berwick 0; Clyds 0, Cusen of South 2; Cumberton 1, Brechin 1; Livingston 1, Hamilton 0; Stenhousemur 0, Stranger 1. Leading positions: 1, Livingsto (3-9); 2, Cusen of South (3-6); 3, Ayr (3-6).

the crowd.

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

to be voting on September 14.

Many parts of Sarajevo are

imposed isolation, is the most

tawdry and depressing corner of

In this inverted world, the poster

hanging across the shrapnel-

scarred streets in the midst of this

squalor seems atrangely appropri-

alc. It says: "We have made it. Let's continue." It is the slogan of the

Serb Democratic Party (SDS), the

separatist clique which first de-

clared, then ethnically cleansed, and

now jealously clings to, its territorial

The SDS rally in Dobrinja is bad

news for all the international institu-

tions attempting to nudge Bosnia

through a transition to a peaceful

It is not just because the

speeches are all xenophobic and

ombative. The constant references

o Karadzic, who led the Bosnian

Serbs right through the war, are a direct challenge to the validity of

According to the rules that have

been drawn up by the Organisation

for Security and Co-operation in Eu-

rope (OSCE) — which is supervis-

ing the elections — any party which

links itself with an indicted war

criminal is liable for disqualification.

THE once closed world of this

key Khmer Rouge military base

was invaded by foreign media on

Monday as leng Sary, the former in

timate of Pol Pot and now leader of a

breakaway Khmer Rouge faction,

Villagers lined the dirt roads of

the base in north-west Cambodia as

Russian-built helicopters ferried

ournalists, officials and government

troops from the border and the capi-

tal Phnom Penh as Cambodia took

another step towards peace.

presented his case for reconciliation

Nick Cumming-Bruce

in exchange for peace.

and stable equilibrium.

creation — the Republika Srpska.

US policy conspires only to hurt the people of Iraq

N THE morning of September 1, President Clinton stated that the recent US decision to resort to military force against Iraq was made in response to the latest acts of brutality by the forces of Saddam Husseln on the civilian population of Irbil. He gave us the impression that his decision was based in large part on humanitarian grounds. I would like to suggest that - far from humanitarian considerations - the president's actions were based on a desire to dispel the notion that he is a weak leader, thereby improving his chances of re-election.

The US position is astonishingly hypocritical. The reality on the ground in Iraq is that US bombardments - while unlikely to affect Saddam directly - are certain to make life more difficult for the civilian population as a whole. We must nut forget that ordinary tragis have suffered in ways we cannot imagine over the past five years.

Major problems for the Iraqis since the end of the Gulf war have been caused by United Natons and international decrees which have conspired to deny desperately needed food and medicines on consistent basis. Strictly speaking, the US has played a large part in the most reprehensible abuse of the lradi people for five years. If the president is sincere in his concern for Iraqi people he would simply employ US power to rush food and medical supplies to children dying of dehydration as a result of economic privation imposed by the UN.

I am sure that many people would join me in looking forward to a time when unacceptable election campaign tactics in the US include negalive advertising — in addition to the squandering of hundreds of million I dam, the West spearheaded the UN

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Europe, U.S.A., Canada.....

Rest of the world.....

United Kingdom.

of dollars of US taxpayers' money in bombings visited on impoverlahed countries of the Third World. Robert D Pates. Charlottesville, Virginia, USA

WHATEVER justification there may be for military action against Saddam Hussein's regime,

no one should be under any illusion that it stems from a concern for the

Prior to the Gulf war, neither the United States nor Britaln showed the remotest concern for the plight of the Kurds or the Marsh Arabs. After the Gulf war, the West used the plight of the Kurds in a cynical move to embarrass Saddam by exercising control over Iraqi territory with the establishment of the so called "safe havens".

Yet Saddam has committed no crime which has not been exceeded n south-eastern Turkey (north-west Kurdistan) by successive Turkish regimes. Because of its perceived strategic importance to the West, Britain, America and Germany have not only acquiesced in the war of genocide against the Kurds, they have provided Turkey with the weapons to carry it out. John Austin-Walker MP.

House of Commons, London

JOUR leader (The politics of hijacking, September 8) rightly made a case against granting political asylum to the Iraqi hijackers. However, you could have pointed out that the Iraqis today are desperare people, tormented both by Saddam and the West.

In its determination to topple Sad-

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sanctions against Iraq, hoping that the resultant economic hardship would delegitimise his regime and precipitate its collapse. Saddam may have been weakened by the trade sanctions, but the real victims of this collective punishment have been the people of Iraq. Six years of crippling sanctions have caused widespread malnutrition and destroyed the social welfare system.

The UN appears to be legitimis ing human suffering in Iraq at the behest of the West. Randhir Singh Bains, Gants Hill, Essex

Muddied divide

WHILE much of the editorial concerning Cyprus (Danger across the divide, August 25) is undoubtedly true, the omission of certain key factors distorts the analysis. There is no mention of the 35,000 foreign troops stationed in the north of the island since 1974. I fails to point out that as long as the breakaway regime in the north en joys Ankara's unreserved support there will be no movement toward "meaningful dialogue". And, in what s perhaps the most serious omission of all, there is no mention of the massive presence in the north of settlers from the Turkish mainland.

Consequently, when you speak of the proportion of the territory to be eventually conceded to the "Turkish Cypriots", just whom do you include? Properly speaking, the term should be reserved for those Turksh-speaking Cypriots who resided in Cyprus at the time of the invasion. a large percentage of whom have since emigrated. Meanwhile, the 60,000 to 80,000 settlers who have been brought over from the main land are completely beholden to the regime since they have been as-signed houses and lands which legally belonged to the Greek Cypri-

ots (180,000 or more) who fled and/or were expelled to the south by the 1974 invasion. The number of these new "Cypriots" is (at least) approaching the number of the original Turkish Cypriots who still reside

It is not simply a matter of the two original Cypriot communities decid ing to bury the hatchet in order to "work out practical ways of living together". The eventual resolution of the Cyprus problem is much more complicated than that.

Verne H Fletcher, Limassol, Cyprus

2 years

Birt's hype is all tripe

AS I SIT on my terrace in the warm September sunshine, John Birt's vision of the future of the BBC (September 1) reads like the

offuci of an overheated brain. Can he really believe that in the nia. year 2006 - or even in 2011 - my postina will grind up a kilometre of bumpy gravel road to deliver a pair of football boots ordered the night | spread, open area? A pack of ravenbefore via my digital black box? In a | ing tigers, perhaps? Such beasts, country where the power goes off every time there is a thunderstorm and where most telephones still use lets are not. pulse dialling? Where it takes the Guardian Weekly two weeks to reach me? Even more unlikely, if the viewer is watching from a one-room flat in Bombay. To 95 per cent Appleton seeks to protect. of the world, Mr Birt's vision is hadicrous hype and tripe. Annandale, NSW, Australia

Then there is the question of cost. How much are all these middlemen, the telecom quangos, cable-operators and channel purveyors, going to cream off? Judging by Mr Murdoch's efforts, as much as the traffic will bear. To access Sky costs about £300 a year, against (what is it?) £90 for the Beeb and about £70 for RAI. My telephone bill came in today; about £120 for two months, covering a domestic tele-phone and fax. A rough calculation tells me that the bill would double if I accessed the Internet.

Most people could do with a simple, reliable television service, which will give them entertainment news and maybe some education. don't think they really care much if it isn't even in colour. The old BBC seemed to fill that role pretty well. just hope the new BBC can come somewhere near. If it can't we would be better off scrapping it.

ID cards must be identical

THE confusion surrounding the issue of UK ID cards reveals a level of paranoid sensitivity. The number of available options seem to have been decided by pre-election jitters and not common sense. Surely ID cards — nothing new to most Western countries -- demand that they should be both mandatory

and identical. The unofficial Australian ID card s the driver's licence, which has a photograph incorporated but no ndication of cultural, ethnic or political background. Given that Australia is probably the ultimate cultural melting-pot, one shudders to think of the number of options that would have been necessary if it had adopted the current UK policy.

The system seems to work having arrived only six weeks ago and not yet obtained our Australian licences, my wife and I have on occasions felt naked without one. We will willingly accept them as markers of our identity and not of our political beliefs.

Ocean Grove, Victoria, Australia

Triggers of violence

CURELY Dr Frank Appleton is O being a little disingenuous when he asserts (September 8) that "the massacres at Dunblane and Port Arthur could have been committed without a firearm", and that "anyone can construct a device capable of bringing down a 747 airliner*.

Has the doctor any idea of the current price of Semtex, even at a discount store? Or of a rocketlauncher? Scarcity has made it a seller's market — at least in Tasma-

But what could be more effective than a rapid-fire rifle in bringing down more than 30 people in a wide however, are a somewhat limited resource these days in Tasmania. Bul-

By all means let politicians "tackle the real problem . . . which Is violence itself'. But let them start by banning the very guns which Dr Barrie Brockwell.

JOUR editorial regarding paedo I philia (Chasing the wrong target, September 1) ended by admonishing that "above all, we need to re-educate men: having sex with children is wrong"

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Men do not need to be re-edu ated. Men already know. It is paedophiles that need to be reeducated. Not all men are paedophiles. Neither are all paedophiles nen, although most are.

that all prostitutes are women.

Ridding the world of paedophilis s a laudable goal. Let us not confuse the issues by labelling all men with the perversions of the few,

May I express my horror and anger at the fate of nearly 70,000 live sheep abandoned to de on a burning cargo ship en route from Australia to the Middle East?

Many Australians are appalled by he live sheep trade, which was one inally justified as a lucrative alternative market for farmers suffering from the downturn in the demand for wool, and has grown into a multimillion dollar business. In practice) nvolves unimaginably cruel trest ment of these animals. I urge all readers to write to the Australian government demanding a ban or the trade.

Wentworth Falls, NSW. Australia

Gillian Appleton

AM sorry to inform Eileen Snith (September 1) that there is within reemasonary a women's section known as the OES (Order of the Evening Star). There is also a further section known as the "Daughters of Job", for the daughters of freenasons. Therefore, appointing a woman to chair a public body would not pec essarily guarantee the post was free from the influence of freemasonry. Peter Oates Kemp,

Couray, Quecustand, Australia

17 IS deeply worrying that the dealers (September 8) was "taken of the airwaves after pressure from the Home Office". Does the BBC offer yield to such pressure, I wonder? Figna Carnie.

JOHN MAJOR has just describe U Norma as a "great asset". Doe this mean she is to be sold off and stripped before the election?

The Guardian

September 15, 1996 Vol 155 No 11 Copyright © 1996 by Guardian Publication Ltd., 119 Farrington Road, London, United Kingdom. All rights reserved. Annual subscription rates are £49 United Kingdom; £55 Europe Inc. Eire, USA and Canada: 983 Rest of World. Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly. 75 Fantingdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk.

Briefly

Unfortunately, your stereotype ends credence to the worst excesses of testosterone bashers. It is as far-fetched as if you had concluded with a call for "the re-education of women: selling sex for money is wrong" - implying that ill women are latent prostitutes, and

M Stuart Lynn, Berkeley, California, USA



Spectre of Karadzic hangs over poll

and genocide by the UN war crimes tribunal, has stepped down, after intense international pressure from all formal positions of power. But his party's unceasing worship of this failed poet and former psychiatrist is designed to chew away gradually at the edges of the rules until

It is clear that the SDS plan is to bring Karadzic out of hiding with a flourish, after its expected triumph among Serb voters at the elections.

The OSCE is caught in a vice, To do nothing about these violations would further erode its credibility, which has already plummeted since it conceded its political campaign fund was bankrolling a party run by one of the most notorious Serb ethnic cleansers of the war, Arkan.

But to disqualify the SDS would almost certainly lead to a boycott of the ballot in the Republika Srpska, rendering the entire election useless in terms of its principal goal the creation of shared, multi-ethnic institutions to help knit the divided country back together.

Pol Pot defector says he is blameless

mer brother-in-law Pol Pot were

1979 - showed no anxiety about

solved because everyone wants

government said leng Sary has agreed to put Phnom Malal and the

his future. "I know my case will be

The OSCE is visibly squirming, but officials admit privately that from Western capitals to get the elections over with so Natu can begin to disengage.

On Saturday, 900,000 voters in the Republika Srpska, and possibly more than 2 million in the Muslin Croat Federation, are due to elect assemblies for their own regions governments. They will also b choosing a joint parliament for the whole country and a joint presidency, comprising one Muslim, one Serb and one Croat.

Carl Bildt, the international community's viceroy in Bosnia, will have the job of trying to make these joint institutions work. In Brussels last week, he said his priority would be to convene the joint presidency within 10 days of the elections being certified legal. It would need a "concerted and sustained" international effort throughout the autumn. "It is highly complex. It is a question of bringing together people who have been fighting against each other . . and getting them to work together.

Mr Bildt told journalists. The difficulties he faces were

morse. "I have no regret because of

London-based Cambodia scholar

peace," he said confidently.

The press conference may be a sign that his future is secure. The being implicated in the purge of in-

All the blame for the horrors of

nearby base of Pailin, along with
several thousand troops, under government control. He said he is just

And the base to the border by motorcycle across the border as the head of a "gang of four" who, from Thailand into Khmer Rouge through a secret security committeness ago. He was cap-

waiting to hear that King Sihanouk | tee, "decided all the killings and | tured and promptly executed.

ordering the execution of anyone,"

sentenced to death in absentia in the fact that I had nothing to do with

tellectuals.

president Biljana Playsic (a prim, colffured woman oddly reminiscent of Baroness Thatcher) strenuously nurtured her audience's sense of isolation and their contempt for Muslime

"Yes, we do want brotherhood and unity, but only with other Serbs in the Balkans. Not with them," she cried. The former biologist could not even bring herself to use the

She rounded off with a direct appeal to a deep-seated Serb sense of paranoia. 'The world is against us. The world has never understood us and it never will."

Mr Bildt is planning an array of economic sanctions to beat the Serbs into line after the elections. Playsic is preparing her followers for defiance and secession. There is an almost masochistic glee in her

But she is right on one count. Rational Westerners, such as Mr Bildt, a former Swedish prime minister, can never really understand the Serbs. In the looking-glass world of the Republika Srpska, Lenin's amply illustrated in Dobrinja last maxim holds good: "The worse it week. Republika Srpska's acting gets, the better."

massacres", the dissidents assert

leng Sary claims that he had dif-

ferences with Pol Pot 15 years be-

Before driving off in a new Land

Cruiser provided by the Phnom

macabre gesture of reconciliation

Mathias Wolfe, The German, who

was in his early 30s, had travelled

opinion to a certain extent.

For good measure he quoted the Penh army, he performed another

heart surgery James Meek in Moscow RESIDENT Boris Yeltsin admitted to the Russian people last

Yeltsin admits

he needs

week what they had long believed, that he is gravely ill and will enter hospital for heart surgery at the end of the month.

In what could be the riskiest throw of the dice yet by an inveterate political gambler, he decided that to clearly acknowledge one real sickness would make him stronger than leaving the country to imagine a thousand more, "I want us to have a society of truth. We should not conceal what has been concealed before," he said.

Years of Kremlin cover-ups, de nials and feverish media speculation about his health were set aside when he appeared on television to say his doctors had given him

"The recommendation of the doctors was; either an operation or a, so to say, passive form of work." Mr Yeltsin, aged 65, said, speaking slowly with long pauses between phrases, "But passive work never suited me, and won't suit me now It's better for me to have an operation and to be restored to full health as they promise — than passive action, passive work."

The assurances of the Kremlin doctors are unlikely to ease increased tension between his possible successors. In the short term, it s not clear who, if anyone, will be designated acting head of state while the president is on the operat nu table.

Neither Mr Yeltsin nor his aides gave any hint as to the nature of the peration. Previous reports have suggested he needed heart bypass

respected Cardiac Research Centre on the outskirts of Moscow, headed by Yevgeny Chazov, responsible for the virtual living mummification of Leonid Brezhnev

Ivan Rykunov, head of the cardiac surgery research laboratory at the Russian Academy of Sciences, said bypass surgery usually involved a month in hospital and two months

Mr Yeltsin, who is on holiday at a unting lodge outside Moscow, poked puffy and tired during the elevision interview with the RAI news agency. But he was well enough to meet Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany at the weekend. Afterwards Mr Kohl said the Russ ian president was "very optimistic" about his coming operation.

David Hearst in Moscow adds: A permanent end to hostilities in Chechenia moved a step closer when the Russian prime minister, Ieng Sary, the former deputy bas agreed to grant him an amnesty. For the came to power. He said he prime minister of a regime that caused the deaths of 2 million Cambas assured, leng Sary, who said he was preserve our unity and thought it devised by his political rival, Gen-Viktor Chernomyrdin, grudgingly gave his assent to the peace plan bodians - for which he and his for 76, wasted no time on feelings of re was still possible to express my eral Alexander Lebed.

This paved the way for the approval of President Yeltsin, who has so far refused to meet Gen Lebed in

Mr Chernomyrdin said the agreements signed by Gen Lebed and the rebel Chechen chief of staff, Asian Maskhadov, "caused some concern but on the whole we consider them right . . . We should act within the framework of these agreements and keep to their thrust."

Washington Post, page 15

Shvam Bhatla in Jerusalem

CECURITY has been tightened O around the Israeli prime minister, Biavamin Netanyahu, following his controversial summit last week at Gaza's border crossing with the Palestinian president, Yasser Arafat.

Hardline Jews have accused their prime minister of betraying his ideology and election promises that be would never meet the "mass mur-

Only hours after the neceting, Israch police arrested a Jewish rightwing extremist who was discovered wandering around Mr Netanyahu's Jerusalem office. They refused to disclose his identity.

The prime minister has come in for strong criticism from members of his own government, senior officials of the ruling Likud party and leaders of the 140,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza

The summit overshadowed the Likud convention in Tel Aviv attended by 3,000 delegates, the majority of whom are against contact with Mr Arafat. Two cabinet ministers, Benny Begin and General Ariel Sharon, are at the forefront of a rejectionist coalition that has promised to make trouble for Mr Netanyohu.

"This summit has one implication - we have been dealt a serious blow from which we will find it difficult to recover," said Mr Begin, who holds the science partfalia.

Reactions among Jewish settlers, 95 per cent of whom voted for Mr Netanyahu, were even stronger. Their leaders held an emergency meeting to discuss the implications of the Arafat-Netanyahu handshake, They decided to knurch a national protest campaign against what they fear may be Alr Netanyahu's sucrender to the Palestinians, "We're not totally loyal to any person, even if we helped in his election," said a statement from the settler move-

Some have taken their cue from Zvi Katzover, the mayor of Kiryat Arba, a stronghold of anti-Arab hardliners. "This is a black day for the state of Israel and the Jewish population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip," he said. "Netanyahu has proven that he is a prisoner of the Oslo Accord and he will eventu-

But the former prime minister Shimon Peres, the architect of the peace process, welcomed the meeting, regretting only "that it took too long". He said Mr Netanyahu should now apologise to his mur dered predecessor, Yitzhak Rabin.

Mr Peres's sentiments were echaed by Rabin's widow, Leah, who said: "Now everyone knows Yitzhak died for nothing, He certainly knew better than anyone else what security means. If you realise now there is no other way, no alternative, why is be dead?"

• President Clinton engaged in a round of mild arm-twisting with Mr | panel of judges. Netanyahu at the White House on Monday, gently urging him to accelcrate the peace process with the Palestinians but avoiding any show of tension with a crucial political ally.

"I let slip my thoughts, not White House aides said Mr Clinbeing aware of the rules, which ton would request "progress on the allow any girl of Italian nationalground" from Mr Netanyahu, who ity, whatever her colour, to take has irritated Washington with his | part," she said. Ms Parietti laggardly approach to peace.

Netanyahu in | South African court orders revisions to constitution

Chris McGreal in Johannesburg

OUTH Africa's constitutional court last week threw out the country's new multi-racial constitution over the distribution of powers to the regions, union rights. and the independence of government watchdogs.
President Nelson Mandela said

he welcomed the decision as an opportunity to clarify the new constitution. But it raised the prospect of renewed political bloodletting on some of the most controversial battlegrounds fought over during the drafting of the original document.

Praising the constitution as basically sound and a monumental achievement, the court none the less sent it back to South Africa's elected constitutional assembly for revision within 90 days. The court said the constitution had failed in nine separate ways to meet a set of guiding principles laid down by multi-party negotiations during the transition to democracy. These ranged from protection of individual

rights to the distribution of power. The judges ruled that the new constitution gives the provinces substantially less power than they

Miss Italy

John Hooper in Rome

in race row

THE Miss Italy contest ended

in uproor at the weekend

black immigrant. Whistles of dis-

approval were audible above the

Still crying, she was crowned

Newspapers added fuel to the

by a juror who hours earlier had

said a black should not repre-

controversy: La Stampa head-

lined its story, "Denny Mendez is the first Miss Black"; and Il

In fact, the winner holds

Italian father.

talian citizenship and has an

The competition organisers

say not only was she the choice

of the jury but she was also the

asionate insistence that they

Ironically, it was a half-Italian

he fashion photographer "Bob"

He said Ms Mendez, aged 18,

Krieger, who prompted the row.

"she does not represent the

beauty that is typical of Italy".

Mr Krieger was thrown off the

Another judge, Alba Parietti.

said she agreed. She too was

bizarre semi-retraction,

expelled, but reinstated after a

are not racist, to outsiders the

definition of who qualifies as

choice of television viewers.

Despite many Italians'

Italian seems restricted.

Giornale declared, "Miss Italy is

sent Italian womanhood.

applause as Dominican-born

Denny Mendez burst into tears

when the title was won by a

court threw out an entire chapter dealing with local government, saying it failed to lay out a defined power structure or provide sufficient control of finances.

But in a separate judgment, the court established the limits of powers for the provinces when it rejected a regional constitution written for KwaZulu-Natal by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, which opponents said bordered on declaring seces-

The court described the document as "fatally flawed" and a "usurpation of national power" which implied that KwaZulu-Natal thinks it is a sovercign state. The court's ruling on the national

constitution appeared implicitly to recognise that the African National Congress (ANC) is likely to be in power for at least the next generation, and so sought to emphasise a decentralisation of power. The court said the new constituon had insufficient safeguards for

independent government watch-

dogs. It also rejected an attempt to

make labour laws immune to legal

challenges and ordered a strength-

Paul Webster

EGIS DEBRAY and Dariel Alar-

con Ramirez, two rare survivors

of Che Guevara's 1960s Bolivian re-

bellion, have publicly turned against

their former Cuban backer and

friend Fidel Castro, with accusa-

Cuba has in turn accused Mr De-

bray, who was jailed and tortured by

the Bolivian army, of betraying Che.

it has also denounced him as a

Cuban resistance movement of

Havana's condemnation came

after the two men published books

describing Dr Castro's regime as

Stalinist and claiming he had aban-

doned the rebels to their fate in 1967.

In the ensuing verbal skirmish,

Che's daughter, Alcida Guevara,

who is nurried to a member of the

Cuban security forces, has blamed

Mr Debray for "talking more than

necessary" while in prison, six

months before her father was a revolution".

which Mr kamirez is a leader.

tions of treachery by Havana.

were allotted in the principles. The | ening of individual employers' rights. But it let stand the right to strike without a reciprocal right for employers to lock out workers.

The judges gave renewed hope to he victims of state-sponsored violence under apartheid by rejecting a provision which put the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, be yond the jurisdiction of the courts. The judges' ruling appears to mean that while those responsible for extrajudicial murders and other crimes might be protected from criminal prosecution the way could still be open to civil suits by victims.

The ANC fears its opponents may go back to the constitutional assembly intent on unravelling more than just the elements of the new constitution declared unacceptable. Al though the judges clearly defined the areas requiring revision, there is nothing to prevent the assembly from trying to amend any parts of the constitution it wishes.

The National Party leadership which quit the coalition government n May in protest at the dispersal o powers in the new constitution, welcomed the ruling but said it was not intent on refighting old battles.

captured and shot by a Bolivian

army firing squad in October 1967.

"He was never really Che's com-

panion," she said. "It's sad that a

communism and the socialist move

had become its own caricature.

totally to the other side."

Striking back . . . Aleida Guevara standing in front of the famous

Old comrades trade insults

The Week

AMZI Ahmed Yousef, an explosives expert, and two accomplices, Abdul Hakim Murad and Wali Khan Amin Shah, were convicted in New York of plotting to blow up a dozen American airliners during n 48-hour period last year. Washington Post, page to

NDIA said that it will block Australia's UN resolution basning nuclear test blasts, despite the proposal's overwhelming support among UN members.

OCAL elections aimed at restoring democracy in Kad mir after a seven-year Muslim led rebellion has begun with 200,000 security forces keeping watch on the proceedings.

eld are 11 police officers. rested in connection with the prime minister André Cools.

A RKANSAN businesswomst to prison for refusing to give evi dence against Bill Clinton, her original partner in the Whitewater investment. But the president's former political con ultant, Dick Morris, threatened new embarrasaments for the White House by agreeing to testify before a congressional

URRICANE Fran hit the US muinland at Cape Fear, but ering the Carolinas with 185kph winds, ripping apart trees and killing at least 15 people.

THE World Food Programm a UN aid agency, is due to teliver the first food for eight months to the besieged town of Tubmanburg in Liberia, where relief workers have found thouman like Régis Debray, so linked to sands of people starving.

> BRITISH holidaymaker Briss Hagland was murdered near Bondi Beach in Australia by two youths thought to be high on

MILY Kngwarreye, the legendary Aboriginal paints and one of Australia's foremost contemporary artists, has died,

again been ranked top of Forbes magazine's list of the 40 best paid entertainers. Her combine earnings for this year and last reached \$171 million-

Washington Post, page 16

B ELGIAN police detained 23 people in the city of Charleroi in connection with a paedophile ring. Among those Earlier, four men were also ar-1991 murder of former deputy

THE people on the Japanese island of Okinawa have voted overwhelmingly in favour of reducing the huge American military presence on their island

ment, should pass suddenly and Mr Debray issued a statement saying he had written enough about the rebellion in La Guérilla du Che in 1974 not to have to justify his behaviour in prison "every time it suits

He accused Ms Guevara of being under Dr Castro's orders when she attacked him in an interview in Clarin, a newspaper in Argentina, Che's native country. Denouncing Havana's "Stalinist" tactics, Mr De-

bray added that Cuba's police state A MERICAN chat show hostess Oprah Winfrey has Mr Ramirez described Ms Guevara's attack on Mr Debray as "new proof of the cynical Stalinism which has taken hold of a revolution which I loved and served when it was still

Deng steps into Mao's shoes — and his myth

To mark the 20th anniversary of

Mao's death this week, state pub-

lishers issued three new volumes of

the "Collected Works of Mao Ze-dong". Newspapers splashed across

their front pages the news of the lat-

est publications but did not mention

proletarian revolution.

his now-defunct policies of endless

While uprooting Mao's revolu-

tionary creed, Mr Deng has por-

trayed himself as a loyal successor

Fearful of undermining the founda-

tions of its own rule, the party never

dumped "Mao Zedong Thought"

As China lies in thrall to the will of a dying man, the succession struggle now raging recalls an earlier deathbed drama. writes Andrew Higgins

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

N SEPTEMBER 1976, the ailing Mao Zedong stirred briefly from unconsclousness to deliver a last enigmatic message to feuding Communist Party courtiers assembled around his deathbed. Bloated by disease and drugs, un-

able to speak and too weak to scrawl note, China's Great Teacher, Great Leader, Great Commande and Great Helmsman put his thumb and forefinger together to form a circle. He then lifted his arm to trace another circle in the air.

Three days later, Mao was dead. "In the last days of his life, he bequeathed a riddle in the shape of a circle to his empire," wrote the Chinese novelist Liu Yazhou.

Some explain Mao's gesture as a warning to fractious lieutenants to stick together - to avoid the vicious purges that dominated his life and, he knew, would follow his death. Mr Liu, who first revealed the odd episode, offers another explanation. "I'd say he was describing his own history. He began in Tiananmen Square and that is where he **en**ded up. He had travelled a big circle,"

Twenty years on, China, too, has come full circle. Reforms since Mao's death have transformed the economy. But politics have again been frozen by the deathbed drama of an aged leader too feeble to issue orders but too putent to be ignored.

Deng Xiaoping, who turned 92 last month, has not been seen in public for 30 months. He is said to be suffering from advanced Parkinson's discase and other allments that have sapped his strength and muddled his mind. Although never the focus of a delirious personality cult like Mao Mr Deng leaves his country no less in thrall to the will of a single man.

He has even taken on a Mao-style title: the Great Architect of Reform Mr Deng is unlikely to follow Mao into a crystal sarcophagus in Tiananmen Square. He wants to be cremated, in keeping with a pledge made by the entire leadership including Mao — in 1956.

But in the most literal sense Mr Deng has already stepped into the dead man's shoes. Impressed by the craftsmanship of a pair of cloth slippers hand-sewn for the Great Helmsman's corpse, Mr Deng or dered a pair from the same cobbler.

Sun Yat-sen, a medical doctor and professional plotter who, more through accident than design, took over as China's ruler after the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1911, despaired at the repetitious cycles of Chinese political struggle. "In the history of China through

the generations, the imperial throne has always been fought over, and all their origin in this. For the past few thousand years there has been a continual struggle around the single issue of who is to become emperor. The advent of communism in 1949

did nothing to release China from this pattern. Would-be emperors still struggle - mostly over the corpse and the legacy of the departing one.
Unlike the Soviet Union, where

Khrushchev established his authority with a denunciation of Stalin, China has never formally debunked

Mao, though it has buried his policies, criticised the "mistakes" of his dotage and pulped millions of copies of his Little Red Book.

but merely redefined it as a collective project.

But were in the grave Mao is hard to control. Thousands of Chinese

the man responsible for the most murderous famine of the modern era and the apocalyptic chaos of the Cultural Revolution is now often

formed a long queue under the scorching sun for a glimpse of the embalmed body of the Great Helmsman, lying in a crystal coffin at a mausoleum on Tiananmen Suuare in the heart of Beijing. What began as a state-sponsored communist cult has become a popular craze. The party clings to Mao's name and keeps his portrait on the gate to the Forbidden City as a symbol of its Chinese, Mao is folk deity, pop icon

and even totem of discontent. So potent is Mao mythology that

seen as a Buddha-like bearer of good luck and prosperity.

Mr Deng's death will probably, in time, inspire a new set of legends. fads and myths. Whoever emerges as his ultimate successor will struggle to claim, redefine and somehor control his legacy.

Over the years, Mao named four different successors: Llu Shaoqi died half-naked in a cold cellar, Lin Biao in a mysterious plane crash in Mongolia, and Wang Hongwen in prison. Hua Guofeng, the only survivor, lost out to Mr Deng in the

Mr Deng is said to have issued his own warnings. A Hong Knog magazine reported that he mumbled an appeal for unity to leaders who gathered at his bedside to wish him a happy birthday.

Mr Deng's designated heirs have fared better physically than those anointed by Mao, but not politically. He has purged two chosen successors: Hu Yaobang in 1987 and Zhao Ziyang two years later.

The hot seat is now occupied by Jiang Zemin, the "core" of what is supposed to be a solid leadership ready to take the country beyond the era of emperors.

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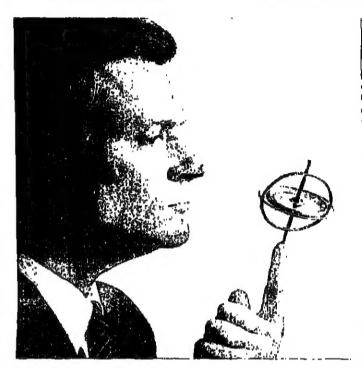
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Dole inspects life rafts while Clinton cruises



The US this week

Martin Walker

T WAS, from the American point of view, a lovely crisis. It had the deep-dyed and familiar villain, Saddam Hussein, It had bold and decisive military action from Commander Clinton, without a single American life put at risk. It featured a reliable supporting actor, Great Britain, playing "loyal little ally". The US Air Force and the Navy both got leading parts. And it quite knocked out of the national mind my scurrilous gossip about the presidential political consultant Dick Morris. All that, and the missile strikes won 81 per cent approval ratings in the first ABC poll.

An American president two months short of re-election really that, whatever the foreign policy pundits may grumble about shredded coalitions, strained alliances and the curious absence of any strategic thinking about Iraq. Iran or the worrying way Turkey appears to be inching away from its dutiful traditions as a Nato ally.

The air strikes went in, were repeated, and the Iraqis began to withdraw. At least, in sensible precaution against possible air strikes, they dispersed their forces. which could be said to look like a withdrawal. Bill Clinton declared victory, and got on with his campaign, and British diplomats preened that "when the chips are down, the Americans still know there is only one ally that counts".

The late-night television comics had a field day. Jay Leno declared: "The US military has launched cruise missiles against Iraq, or as the White House is calling it, Operation Re-Elect Clinton." David Letterman also found a domestic political theme: "This Saddam Hussein is a maniscal dictator. He is a demagogue. He is a ruthless paranoid, and if he is not stopped, he could be-

come another Ross Perot." Meanwhile, in the Kurdish city of Irbil, the vicious military intelligence snatch squads of General Ali Hassan Majid reased a rich haul of prisoners and of documents from the aban- fore his helpful choice of Jack Kemp duned offices of the Iraqi opposition. Majid, a cousin of Saddam Hussein and a member of the close-knit Takriti gang, is a former minister of women, and trails Clinton in every defence and the interior. He is best known as the thug who was made governor of Kuwait during Iran's brief and ruthless occupation. He deserves to be better known as the man who directed the 1988 "Anfal" campaign of suppression against the Kurds of northern Irag, which included the use of poison gas against | As his campaign faltered in 1988, two the women and children of Halabja. of his campaign managers were or-

the Kurds call him) was made governor of Kirkuk, in charge of the reinforced Republican Guard armoured division forming up ominously just south of the Kurdish no-fly zone. The most ruthless of Saddam's trouble-shooters. Majid suggested by his very presence that something serious was under way. So it was. A small armoured brigade of Iran's Pasclaran Revolutionary Guard had crossed into northern lraq to take sides in the Kurdish civil war. Saddam was then invited in to help block Iran by the other Kurdish faction.

The Americans now think they know why Saddam took his gamble. He assumed that, however much Washington despised him, it hated Iran even more. The one licence Clinton might grant Saddam was to stop any expansion of Iran's influ-ence into Kurdistan.

In this Saddam was thumpingly wrong. The president's intelligence briefs had not focused on any obscure Kurdish tribal akirmishes in the Koi Senjak mountains. They had, rather, warned Clinton that he could be going into an election campaign with Saddam back on the rampage.

Clinton's decision to respond made itself, with his Republican challenger, Bob Dole, accusing him of "a failure of American leadership", as soon as the news broke of the Iraqi armoured assault on the Kurdish city of irbil. Almost immediately, Clinton approved in principle the plan to destroy Iraq's remaining air defence system, and extend the nofly zones. The aim was "to humiliate Saddam Hussein in front of his own military", said White House spokesman Mike McCurry.

The plan was also designed to ensure the Americans were not acting alone. They flew two elderly B-52 bombers from the US across the Pacific to Guam. They then flew across the Indian Ocean to refuel at the nominally British island of Diego Garcia, before firing their cruise missiles from Gulf air space. This was the extent of the vaunted "British logistical contribution". But it was enough for many Americans, who have been slapping your correspondent warmly on the back and

offering to buy a good ally a drink. Iranian Pasdaran units are still on Iraqi soil. The Turks have begun what looks to be a long stay in their new security zone inside Irsq, after softening up the ground with their own brisk air strikes, delivered by those efficient US-supplied F-16 war planes. And a rather prouder Saddam remains in power, with some Kurds looking at least temporarily like loyal Iraqi citizens again.

Poor old Dole, whose prayers for foreign policy crisis were answered in quite the wrong way, is 18-24 points behind in the polls again — back where he started beas running mate, and before his successful convention in San Diego. Dolc is 32 points behind among age and ethnic group, and in every region of the country. He is within atriking distance only in the South, but he looks likely to lose Georgia

and maybe even Florida. Dole has responded with a ritual sacrifice to appease the angry electoral gods. He has done this before, On August 20, All Chemical (as I dered off the campaign plane and left I his wife embraced as a star by



on a Florida runway. This time his manager, Scott Reed, has secured the resignations of Don Sipple and Mike Murphy, the campaign's media strategists, a move that inspired tired wittleisms about shuffling the deck chairs on the Titanic.

Sipple is very good. He crafted the come-from-behind campaign that got Pete Wilson re-elected governor of California. Murphy may be even better. Despite vicious local party divisions, he took former marine colonel Oliver North to within a whisker of winning a US Senate seat in Virginia, and also designed Gov-ernor John Engler's victorious campaign in Michigan. He also kept poor Lamar Alexander's presidential old alive for longer than it deserved.

They resigned because they no onger believed in the message they were being told to deliver, focusing

Poor old Dole, whose prayers for a foreign policy crisis were answered in quite the wrong way

sarrowly on tax cuts rather than on the broader social and cultural themes they feel Dole needs, Sipple had also tried to position Dole more n the centre, with a pro-abortion vice-presidential candidate. Sipple's insistence that Jack Kemp, rather than Dole, attend the Christian Coalition's annual conference may now be reversed. The most prominent Californian on the Dole campaign, Sipple had been the most passionate proponent of Dole's need to make a fight of it in this most populous of states. We may now see California abandoned

to the Clinton forces. Heaven knows what Dole does now. He has stepped down from the Senate. He has picked his Veep. He has given a grand speech to a united Republican convention. He has seen

America's TV audience. None of it eems to matter, and there are few byious opportunities left for him to ecapture the voters' attention. In act, barring accidents, all he has left are the three presidential TV deates. And Dole enters these at a disadvantage to a talk-show president who is a clever debater and naster of small-screen intimacies.

The last of the three presidential ebates in 1992 was watched by 97 million people, almost exactly the number of voters. This is more than four times the TV audience for the conventions, so they are important. Hence the fuss between the two campaigns about how they should be organised. This was supposed to have been settled by the appointment of a bipartisan presidential debate commission, but the campaigns still have the final say.

Put briefly, the Clinton side wants Ross Perot to take part because he will split the anti-Clinton vote and will rubbish Dole's tax cut as a budget-busting deficit binge. For exactly the same reasons, the Dole camp does not want Perot to take part. This is not just a matter of elementary fairness. The commission guidelines state that a candidate with a record of winning a serious vote, who is a credible contender and on the ballot in sufficient states to have a theoretical chance of winning, deserves a place at the debate.

Perot should qualify. He got 19 million votes in 1992, almost one vote in five. He is on the ballot in 47 states already. He has accepted \$30 million in federal campaign funds. But he is stalled at 5-6 per cent in the polls, so the Dole camp says he is out of it. When the Clin ton camp protests that this isn't fair, the Dole team retorts that, in that case why not have Perot and Ralph Nader join the debates.

The Clintonites do not like that. Nader is the candidate of the Green party, although he is not actively campaigning, nor does he wholly support the Green manifesto. But in California Nader could take a significant fraction of the vote, possibly political lives

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over, because this is a flawed pres dent, with whom the voters are not comfortable, and their mood is vola tile," says former Congressman Vin Weber, one of the more thoughtful Republicans and an influential Dole adviser. "In the space of the week of our convention at San Diego, the race went from 20 points down to almost even in some polls. Naturally, the president is looking good now, after his own convention and after a sudden foreign policy crisis, which always helps a White House incumbent as the nation rallies round. But the Clinton lead is very akittish."

Other Republicans are getting respectful hearing with their warnings that Clinton's quick fix in Iraq crisis that he will have to face with a badly shredded Gulf war coalition. They note also that Russia is head ing back into critical territory, with Boris Yeltsin going for heart surgery, and a serious budget crisis looming this autumn. A case can be made that the two dominant US for eign policy concerns for the foresee able future are managing Russia's weakness and China's ascension Despite his tactical skills at dealing with foreign policy crises as the come up, Clinton could be criticised for having little strategic sense.

Paul Wolfowitz, one of the clever-'est officials in the Reagan Pentagon; compares these post-cold war day to the twenties and the feckless presidency of Warren Harding, when the US enjoyed peace and prosperity with little thought for the economic and military cataclysms looming 10 15 years ahead. Since the Republic cans really ought to be thinking about the next eight weeks, you can see how desperate they are.....

There is another clue. Last week Dole campaigned at a New Jersey: factory that makes life rafts. Much more of this, and Republican congressmen will cry "Sauve qui peut". and abandon him to save their own

Loggers 'out of control' in forest chainsaw massacre

David Harrison

HE UNBRIDLED plunder of the world's forests by giant timber firms is increasing at an alarming rate, with Japan's Mitsubishi topping the league of forest "rapists", according to the Environmental Investigation Agency.

A report by the agency identifies 17 of the world's worst offenders and says the \$100 billion timber industry is "running out of control", helped by the global market and fuelled by greed. Two firms are accused of corruption and six of illegal practice.

World leaders, it says, are failing to stem the increase in deforestation despite the worthy aims of the United Nations Earth Summit in

The report compares timber companies to "robber barons" creating social disharmony, threatening rare animals and seriously damaging the environment. It accuses them of exploiting developing countries and un-dermining their efforts towards sustainable growth. The report also claims that eight timber firms are involved in widespread illegal logging, encouraged by the lack of regulation.

The report, Corporate Power, Corruntion and the Destruction of the World's Forests, was published this week to coincide with the opening of the United Nations Inter-Governmental Panel on Forests conference in Geneva. The panel will prepare recommendations for next year's Earth Summit in New York.

Steve Trent, the agency's head of campaigns, said: "Unless swift and decisive action is taken to control the intense pressures on the world's forests, the 20th century's damning legacy will be the extermination o most of the world's species and massive social and economic distur

The report calls for a legally binding Global Forests Agreement to protect "our common natural heritage and the people and wildlife that depend on them for survival".

The timber trade, 95 per cent dominated by transpational firms, is the single greatest threat to the

world's richest natural forests, the | buying deals in every continent. De-

the report control nearly 45 million hectares of forest, an area the size of Sweden. Britain does not have any logging companies, but last year it was the world's second largest importer of Brazilian maho gany after the United States.

Of the 15 firms, Japan's Daishowa and Musa of Indonesia face allegations of corruption and illegal prac-tices. The Canadian companies Macmillan Bloedel and Interfor. Hyundai of South Korea, the Malaysian Rimbunan Hijau, and the US's Georgia Pacific, Stone Container and Weyerhneuser are accused of il legal practices. These companies are also charged with environmental vandalism along with Japan's Mitsubishi and New Oji, Samling of Malaysia, the US firm Boise Cascade, Rougier of France, the German Klunz and Karl Danzer, and

Enso Oy of Finland Their growing economic and political muscle has allowed them to undermine national forestry bodies and gain unrestricted access to valuable forests to satisfy a rocketing world demand for timber and paper. They cut corners to boost profits. the agency says. Many operate a "cut-and-run" policy — clearing forests, as in the Russian Far East, and moving on.

Replanting is often inadequate and inappropriate, dumaging animal habitats. "Few industries can rival trade," the report says.

Foreign logging has ruined com-munities in developing countries, in-cluding Papua New Guinea and Guyana, where companies have extracted generous tax breaks. A 1995 World Bank report said this destabilising "hoom-and-bust" developnent prevented long-term growth. The agency's report includes ac-

cusations against:

Mitsubishl. Implicated in the permanent degradation of native orests" all over the world; rode roughshod over local environmental concerns and broke national laws. Has logging operations or timberscribed as "one of the greatest corporate threats to the world's

A Hyundai. Involved in large-scale

clear-cutting" in Siberia; failed to

reforest huge areas. Negotiated "alarmingly generous" deal to log 800,000 hectares — 12 per cent of Cambodia's forest cover, with its bligations detailed in an agreement of just four pages, signed in 1994 without being debated by the Cam-bodian National Assembly. Cambo-dia's armed forces are said to allow llegal cutting in return for bribes. Musa. Illegal logging, "contempt" for local communities and widespread environmental damage in Surinam. Newspapers alleged Muss aid bribes totalling \$9 million to politicians for logging rights.

Georgia Pacific, the US's largest

mporter of tropical hardwood; remonded to growing public concern over rainforest destruction in Brazil ud other countries with "a mixture f half-measures and doublespeak target of boycott campaign in US. Bolse Cascade. Under pressure in US for "rapacious" logging practices, the firm moved into Mexico with a scheme to log 400,000 hectares of old-growth" fir and pine forest.

'trail of destruction" in Cameroon. Deforestation is wiping out plant

ing to "global warming". Roads cut human settlers and provide routes himpanzees, the report says.

7,000 species extinct each year in tropical forests alone. More than 24 mampial species are threatened, of which 11 are endangered.

are all under threat. Fifteen tree

Last echo of empire

OBITUARY Julian Amery

devoted himself proved irrelevant or by history, or falled, any account of him written today will be far gentler than any appearing 20 years ago.

Julian Amery was the son o Leopoki Amery, one of Churchill's closest and best trusted friends. Educated at Eton and Balliol, he was esponsible for the formal revocation by the Oxford Union of its re fusal "to fight for King and country". Service as a parachutist in Albania, among that odd group which contained Raudolph Churchill and Reclyn Waugh, in volved him in an identification with Draza Mihallovic, leader of the Serbian royalist chetniks, which now looks less anachronistic than it did

→ Karl Danzer. Forest destruction. through "unsustainable and grossly wasteful" operations in Zaire; left

the grizzly bear in North America species are endangered, including the monkey puzzle and the Brazilian

L'THOUGH most of the Amery, who has died aged 77. downright silly, or were swept away

Wartime service was followed by desperate, unsuccessful efforts to save his brother John from the galows for treason. John Amery was person whose futile and unimporant association with the Germans

and animal species, facreasing soil erosion and flooding and contributnto forests by loggers encourage or poschers who use logging trucks o transport leopards, gorillas and

Commercial logging makes some

The Siberian tiger, the orang-utan, the golden eagle in Russia and

Concorde supersonic airliner, a contract which proved painfully enforceable when wiser thoughts wanted Britain out of a hideously nounting bill of costs. This nonsense owed something Amery's francophilia, his belief

At aviation, Amery did something

entirely representative of the sixties

habit of thinking big, and wrong. He

contracted with France to build the

hat somehow Britain and France were a substitutable alternative great power to set against the Americans. This was a throwback to Churchill and his plea in 1940 for Anglo-French unity.

Another Amery preoccupation was to be southern Africa, in fairness, he was not a despiser, still less a hater, of black people, more of a romantic paternalist. He was purtly influenced by a very reasonable dislike of the communism he had encountered in the Balkans, partly by warm comradely feeling towards the settlers. Amery, a romantic through and through, identified with the oxwayon trekker, tending o ignore the sjambok.

In due course he became a sup porter of the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia "internal settlement" with Bishop Abel Muzorewa and an opponent of the 1980 Lancaster House agreement which led to Robert Mugabe's emergence as ruler of an independent Zimbabwe. Dropped by Ed-ward Heath from the shadow cabinet in 1965, he sought out and cultivated contacts with (an Smith the prime minister of Rhodessa, and naintained them ever after.

Briefly out of l'adjantent after de feat at Preston in 1966, he unickly returned at a byelection at Brighton Pavilion 1968, where has was to remain until his retirement from the Commons - and acceptance of a life peerage — in 1992.

On the face of it, Amery should have seemed a rather hateful man, a reactionary, and a friend of tyrants. in fact, the whole man was far more attractive than the sum of the parts, which does indeed read like a charge sheet.

For a start, Amery was courteous. Although there was always a endency to drink - another habit of Churchill's circle — the rage and frustration of the Tory tippler were not his style; the voice just dropped another octave.

Second, he had no vulgar racial concept, though he was sceptical about African proficiency in democratic politics.

Also, as he grew older. Amery grew more reflective. His response to Mrs Thatcher's frantic efforts to tighten official secrecy with yet more laws against treasonable disclosers, rather than loyal leakers, was to gently rebuke her for over-reaction.

Amery was wrong-footed by too much ancestor worship (Churchill, his father Leo Amery and the other men associated with Lord Milner's kindergarten). The irresistible impulse of 1900 would become the im possibilist lost cause of 1960 and a melancholy historic blip by 1980. Devotion to that shambling dream was honourable, but it was not sensible - a comment which service ably describes an entire life lived against the grain by a decent, serious but often spectacularly wrong headed man.

Edward Pearce

Julian Amery (Baron Amery of Lustleigh), politician, born March 27, 1919; died September 3, 1996

Golden Lion for tale of legendary IRA leader

Derek Malcolm

THE Irish are coming. Michael Collins, Nell Jordan's film about the IRA legend, this week won Venice's Golden Lion for best film after receiving a 10minute standing ovation at its public acreenin

In addition, Liam Neeson who plays Collins — and was rushed from Venice to Parma Hospital intestine halfway through the festival - was voted best actor by Roman Polanski's jury.

"He's not playing Bravehear and the film's not anti-British,' Neil Jordan said, "It's about a man who organised an army and then tried to disperse it — which surely has a lesson for today."

Jordan insisted that the film was as much about the Irish fighting the Irish as the Brits. That seemed to be accepted, which will be a godsend for a nervous Warners, who are

putting out the film in Britain

Much more surprising than part in Jacques Doillon's

Ponette also won the International Critics Award and that may mean increased interest from buyers at a festival where some were in despair at finding a suitable film for audiences suffocated by Hollywood.

Art was given another fair the jury awarded Otar

but resisting the American idea of a good poster, which has Neeson waving the IRA flag.

the award given to Neeson was the best actress gong, which went to Victoire Thivisol for her Ponette. Aged four, the actress is the youngest to get a major

ingly too, a child who loses her mother in a car crash and cannot accept that she will never see her again, despite everything the father (Xavier Beauvols) can do.

chance against commerce when

Iossellani, the Georgian director now living in France, the special jury prize for Brigands, an overlong but often brilliant parable about the misuse of authority, which naturally enough concentrated its fire on the Stalinist era lossellani knew

Ken Loach's Carla's Song, about a Glaswegian bus driver who falls for a Nicaraguan girl and travels with her into the conflict between the Sandinistas and the Contras, won the Gold Medal of the President of the Republic for "a film which emphasises civil progress and human soli-

Finally, Chris Penn, Sean's less famous brother, won a best supporting actor award for Abel Ferrara's intense but clichéridden Mafia movie, The Funeral, He plays one of three brothers who seeks redemption from crime by killing half his family.



as a wartime broadcaster stemmed

from an incapacity to grow up. His

execution was a cruel, unnecessary

act and it cast a shadow upon Julian

Amery, Significantly, all his life the rightwing MP voted against capital

Entering Parliament for Preston

North in 1950, Amery firmly identi-

fied with old-fashioned imperialism

hating every concession of the decolonising era. He was a member of

that group of rebels, known as the

Suez Group, who in 1953 opposed all negotiations with the Egyptians about the status of the Canal Zone.

He was a violent partisan of that last

great spasm of empire, the 1956 in-

vasion of Suez, on which his father-

in-law, Harold Macmillan, blew

Then, under Macmillan's premier-

ship, he became successively Colo-

and Minister for Aviation.

Enoch Powell,

nial Under Secretary, Air Minister

Perhaps the most unattractive

moment of his career came when he

was obliged to defend the actions at

the Hola Camp for detainees in Malawi (then Nyasaland) which are

historically identified as a clear-cut

brutal massacre. The amorphous

meaning of the word "rightwing"

was demonstrated by the coolly an-

nihilatory attacks on this crime by

Parties aim to sweet-talk voters with tax promises

CONSERVATIVES and Labour started to hurl conflicting figures at one another in an opportunist tax auction which, both parties hope, will secure them an early lead in an election campaign that still has eight

labour's leader, Tony Blair, assured the nation's business leaders that there would be no question of a return to penal tax rates under a labour government. On the contrary, its aim was to reduce the lowest lax band from 20p to 15p or 10p.

The Tories retaliated with a "New Labour, New Danger" poster showing demon eyes staring from a housewife's purse, and claimed to identify 13 alleged new taxes in Labour's plans. The Chancellor. Kenneth Clarke, cited the proposed windfall tax on the privatised utilities, the "fartan tax" that could arise from Scottish devolution, and the "teenage tax" deriving from the removal of benefit from some teenagers, and said Mr Blair had invented "siver, cleverer ways of nicking your packet".

The Torics, for whom tax is normally a trump card, fear they may have lost the public's trust in this area of policy after a string of rises

Labour's 10p tax rate is not actually a promise but an aspiration. The Tories propose, but again do not actually promise, a reduction in the standard rate from 23p to 20p. Mr Clarke is careful about any promises for November's Budget, fearing the City might react adversely to exces sive tax cuts in a bid to buy votes.

Labour's shadow chancellor, Gordon Brown, calculates that the typical family is now paying £668 more in tax than it was in 1992 because of increases in the four subsequent years But Mr Clarke asserts that people are £690 better off in real terms than they were in 1992 because of fatter wage packets and lower inflation.

The rival parties were dragging the country into a "crazy auction o promises" said the Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, who opted out of the battle.

THE FORMER Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert (now Lord) Runcie, said he hoped he would be dead before his biography, written by Humphrey Carpenter, hit the be published and Lord Runcie is alive and well, though deeply unhappy about some of its revelations.

Mr Carpenter, who was Lord Runcie's chosen biographer, says among other things that the former archbishop considered that the Prince and Princess of Wales were badly matched and that their marriage irranged; that he regularly called in friends for sermon-writing; that he enjoyed the company of gays but that he had been "conscious that they might stab me in the back because I wasn't one of them".

Lord Runcie's admirers will be sorry to learn that he did not even write the sermon after the Falklands war, which infuriated Margaret Thatcher by referring to the "mourning on both sides of the conflict".

He does not complain of inaccuracies, only that his "burblings" into a tape recorder were not meant for publication in his lifetime. Mr Car-penter had deleted passages to

which the archbishop objected, but refused to withdraw the book from publication because Lord Runcie lad not insisted on a right of veto.

> FRESH SCANDAL broke over A FRESH SCANDAL Droke over the already sullied image of Britain's children's homes when police said they feared for hundreds of youngsters who had passe through a home in Cardiff.

Detectives want to trace 400 former residents of the Taff Vale home in Whitehurch, which was a shortterm care and assessment centre between 1985 and 1991, suspecting that physical and sexual abuse of the children there may have been commonplace. Staff have named former colleagues who, they believe, operated a pacdophile ring preying on girls and boys.

A judicial inquiry opened this week into allegations of abuse at seven children's homes in north Wates. Police inquiries and prosecutions are also continuing into abuse at homes in Cheshire.

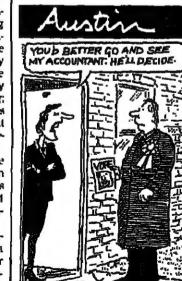
HIRTY children were with-drawn by their parents from a

school in Nottinghamshire protest against the readmission of Matthew Wilson, aged 10, who was suspended before the summer holidays, for being disruptive. Teaching unions had threatened

industrial action if the boy was not expelled, but finally persuaded the governors of the school in Workson that he should be taught by an outsider, in isolation from staff and other pupils.

The unions may now be taken to court by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities for their "bullyboy tactics" in trying to undermine the rights of pupils and their parents to appeal against expulsion.

TORY Ministers reversed more than a decade of attacks on "loony left" classroom policies when they instructed schools to adopt anti-racist and multicultural studies to help students from ethnic minorities. The Government now con-cedes that "colour blind" policies in schools have failed to tackle inequalities, and that there is concern about the performance of pupils of African and Caribbean origin, who are six times more likely to be expelled than their white peers.





Lisa Hepi at the Roman grave where she helped discover an ancient board game

Archaeologists puzzle over next move

chess, as sadistic as Monopoly or as pointless as Patience, but a Roman board game discovered intact in a gravel pit in Colchester. Essex last week may go

down as the longest game of any-thing ever played, writes John Duncan. And it's likely to stay that way because the rules are not in the box. The game, thought to be a version of a Roman board game called Soldiers, was discovered and tiddlywinks. Unfortunateh they then found another glass in a dig on a burial site by memcounter, wrecking theories the bers of the Colchester Archaeocertain squares had been deliblogical Trust. The pieces were erately left blank as part of a clever opening strategy.
The game was sealed in the intact, with the first two moves already apparently made.

traditional tomb for dignitaries of the time for the deceased to amuse himself in the afterlife, at cording to some; for him to play to get into heaven, say others.

Hume pleads for asylum seekers

That at least was the theory:

the archaeologists had painstak

ingly reconstructed a diagram of what they had found, looking

like a cross between draughts

James Meikle

ARDINAL Basil Hume. leader of Roman Catholics in England and Wales, last week said the Government should show "moral responsibility" by restoring some state aid to asylum seekers.

He said that voluntary and church groups trying to help up to 10,000 people stripped of their benefit and housing rights might not cope this winter. Britain's response to their plight would be a touch-stone of its moral health.

The Government should devote part of the £400 million a year it may save through the curbs to prevent destitution and "scute social distress".

Cardinal Hume, opening a 50-bed night shelter in central London to which he is said to have made a "very generous personal donation". said the Government had a legitimate interest in ensuring fair and efficient procedures for genuine asylum seekers.

But such people, often blamed for being a burden on the state or takinterest or who promote a narrow | the initial benefit cuts were illeg

The curbs apply to asylum seekers who fail to seek refugee status on arrival in this country or who are appealing against rejection of their applications. But Cardinal Hume said even

those granted refugee status were

often surviving on income support

and living in overcrowded accommodation. The need for the shelter was a grim omen, he said. "I do believe the Governmen have a moral responsibility . . . to

provide financial support to those voluntary organisations which are taking the strain." denying asylum seekers

funds, the Government was denying them the chance to pursue legal

He and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, had met the Social Security Secretary, Peter Lilley, in January and had warned him of the "grave misgivings" about the effects of the changes, which were irst introduced in February.

Voluntary groups say that a crisis s approaching, especially since ing others' jobs, were "a useful emergency legislation in July put there will be scapegoat for those who wish to appeal only to other people's self-

Increasing numbers are though to be alceping rough although mo are still being offered shelter by people in their different communications ies. Some may wait three years in their cases to be determine

The shelter, run by the Refugee Council, includes an advice centre washing and laundry facilities, a medical centre, room for prayer, and English classes.

Several organisations and companies, including the building industry's charity, Crash, have helped provide the centre, which will cost nearly £400,000 a year to run. There is only enough cash at present to last until December.

The Department of Social Secu rity said: "Genuine refugees or rently not getting benefit but granted asylum will get benef backdated. They can then pay the voluntary organisations and church groups who have been accommo

Meanwhile voluntary organ ions would have to take the strain "If a church is convinced of an iodi vidual's case, they can be confident there will be money there at the end of the day," said the Social Security

Lilley faces fresh fight over benefits

Alan Travis

HE High Court last week cleared the way for a new legal battle over a government decision to withdraw basic social security support from thousands of asylum seekera.

Mr Justice Popplewell gave permission to the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) to bring a full High Court case against the decision of the Social Security Secretary, Peter Lilley, to use emergency legislation retrospectively to

deny welfare benefits to up to 10,000 | who was tortured and raped by the asylum seekers.

However, a spokesman for the Department of Social Security in-Bisted that asylum seekers should not be allowed to keep what he described as "windfall gains". A fresh defeat for the Government could mean it faces a bill of millions of pounds in backdated benefit The High Court action, to be

security forces, and now faces being made homeless in Britain. The fresh legal challenge stell

from a Court of Appeal victory of June 21 by the JCWI, which de clared that Mr Lilley had acted the gally since February 5 by tuning down all social security claims from asylum seekers who failed to seek refugee status on the day they a rived in Britain. The Appeal Court heard later this month, is also being judges said Mr Lilley's policy con orought as a test case on behalf of Miss T, a young Ethiopian woman civilised nation can tolerate it.

Pope backs Ulster peace hopes

HE Pope threw his weight be hind the search for peace in Northern Ireland when he called for courage from those in volved in the all-party talks, which resumed at Stormont on Monday after a summer of sectarian conflict.

Pope John Paul told pilgrims after his regular Sunday angelus address at his summer residence south of Rome that the Protestant and Catholic communities both desired an end to violence. "They have given proof that peace

and reconciliation are possible i everyone has the courage to entbrace the path of dialogue, mutual understanding, respect for the legiti-mate rights of each person and, above all, human rights." The Pope said he hoped political leaders would "pursue the true good of the beloved people of Northern Ireland". The talks resumed at Stormon

Castle in east Belfast amid gloomy forecasts: Protestants and Catholics appear more polarised by the events of this summer's marching season than for many years.

The Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic sider the matter and decide if they Inionist Party and the non-ectarian Alliance Party have asked

The Democratic Unionists claim Unionist Party and the nonsectarian Alliance Party have asked the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, to decide if the two small loyalist parties that represent the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Defence Association can remain at the negotiating table while a death threat hangs over a former UVF prisoner and Portatiown hard-liner, Billy Wright. Members of the Progressive Unionists and the Ulster Democratic Party have been urged to distance themselves from

Wright to get out of Northern fre-Within minutes of the talks resuming Mr Paisley brought proceedings to a halt with a three-page indictment of the two parties, claiming they were in breach of the Mitchell principles of non-violence. He said he would not return to the able until the matter was resolved.

the warning by the Combined Loy-alist Military Command to Mr

The talks were then adjourned by the chairman, the former US senator George Mitchell, so the British and Irish governments could con-

Armed to the teeth ... Norma Major in Glasgow PHOTO MURDO MacLEOD

Stormin' Norma on the stump

going to take out the Labour

party had a moderately success-

ful test-firing last week, writes

Norma Major, aka Boudicca, amply showed Glaswegians she

s capable of supplying the extra

touch of laminate that could had

through the next general election.

enable her husband to wriggle

A 100-second display outside,

Hotel revealed the dark-suited

mother of two to be an accom-

open revolving doors, and capable of holding an animated

chat with the tartan-trewed

Conservatives, Sir Michael

A party fundraising event in Scotland is not the ideal place to

make your debut as the new

First Lady; memories of Mary

Queen of Scots and Margaret

chairman of the Scottleh

plished navigator of aplayed-

and moving through, the Hilton

Erlend Clouston.

Thatcher have made the country

a no-fly zone for pushy women. Conscious of this, the biogra-

pher of Joan Sutherland offered only a mild extension of the tra-ditional repertoire of the politi-

tête-à-tête with Sir Michael, and

while her husband fielded ques-

tions about Irag, the normally

posed alone for a good 10 sec-

onds, the lights from the photo-

graphers' flashguns glittering in

her gobstopper-sized gold, or possibly gilt, earrings. The theory behind the

unimpeachable. Labour lost the

last election as it attracted fewer

homeliness can generate a sym-

female than male votes. If 54-

year-old Mrs Major's natural

pathetic loyalty among the

nation's mothers and shop

assistants, Labour might be vanquished again.

Stormin' Norma strategy is

discreet Mrs Major overtly

cian's consort. After her

that unless the loyalist representatives dissociate themselves, they should be barred. The DUP is unlikely to take part in full discussions until the decision is taken.

end that the talks would be extremely difficult after Drumcree, where Orangemen staged a suc-cessful stand-off against the RUC. He also admitted there had been a feeling on both sides at the time of the stand-off. "Nobody committed to peace and

real game in town".

Sir Patrick admitted at the weeklack of insight into the intensity of

to the rule of law can see those dire events as a victory," Sir Patrick said. They were a defeat for the Province as a whole, for the democratic process and for all those who support and depend for their liberty

He admitted political progress had been "maddeningly slow" but said the resumed talks "are the only

ire over sale of Defence housing

David Hencke

MICHAEL PORTILLO is to sell the Ministry of Defence's 58,000 homes for £1.6 billion to a consortium of Japanese-backed financiers and a bank whose chairman is the honorary treasurer of the Conservative party.

The deal was condemned by Labour's defence spokesman, David Clark, who believes it will bring rich pickings for the companies and land the taxpayer with a large bill in the

The winning bid is the Annington Homes consortium, made up of the Japanese bank Nomura Interna-tional, the Royal Bank of Scotland — whose chairman is Lord Younger of Prestwick, the former defence secretary, whose clients include the Conservative party — Hambros
Bank — whose chairman is Lord
Hambro, the Tory party treasurer
— Midland Bank, Abbey National
Treasury Services and the AMEC Group. It beat off a bid headed by John Beckwith, who is also chairman of the Premier Club, where members pay £100,000 a year for

dinners with John Major.

Sources said the bulk of the finance involved would be arranged by the consortium's British part-

Mr Clark said: "It is scandalous that the homes of servicemen are to be sold to line the pockets of Tory party donors. This is yet another example of sleazy deals from this government."

The MoD will lease back the properties from Annington Homes under a 200-year deal.

Some £100 million will be r leased from the sale to upgrade the homes, while 2,500 will be sold. More properties will be released over 25 years.

Sir Thomas Macpherson, a busi nessman and former soldier who has worked closely with the MoD, was recruited as chairman of the consortium.

EU summit underscores British isolation on union

John Palmer in Tralee

BRITAIN'S isolation over plans for closer political union in Europe will be laid bare next month at a special European Union summit.

EU foreign ministers meeting last week in Tralce, Ireland, agreed to step up preparations to produce a draft treaty on closer union by calling a summit of heads of government on October 5. This is two days before the Conservative party meets in Bournemouth, where Eurosceptics plan to reopen their campaign against British participation in the single currency and against any strengthening of the Maastrich

As he prepares to face a potentially stormy party conference de-bate, John Major is certain to resist all pressure at the Dublin summit for Britain to show a greater willingness to compromise.

freland's government, which holds the EU presidency, is confident it will have a complete new draft European treaty ready by the end of November.

"We are determined to get such a text ready in time for the normal European Union summit to be held in Dublin during December," the Irish foreign minister, Dick Spring, said. "It may have to include some important square brackets where there are deep disagreements, but it should offer serious options for the heads of government to consider."

The British government has rejected all attempts to get it to modify its opposition to any extension of majority voting by the EU Council of Ministers, any extension of the powers of the European Parliament and any weakening of the national veto. But the other 14 EU countries believe some reforms in the way decisions are taken are essential.

"I want to see progress made on all the issues we are considering in order to make the European Union more efficient, more open and more democratic," the commission president, Jacques Santer, said. "I hope we can create conditions for a politi-

cal breakthrough in Dublin. I would remind you we have an EU now of 15 member states which was originally created for six. In the years ahead the EC will enlarge to 25 countries. There must be changes.

The Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, was remarkably upbeat about the prospects of a compromise on ways of strengthening Europe's common foreign and security policy, and even on the agreement of a common line on defence. He denied that recent disagreements among EU governments about US missile attacks on Iraq showed con-

sensus was impossible.

Michael White adds: A group of Britain's most senior industrialists last week stepped in to the vicious Tory dispute over Europe to warn that outright rejection of a single currency would be "deeply damaging" to jobs and export prospects.

With so many aspects of proposed monetary union unresolved as the 1999 deadline approaches, "leaving an empty chair at the table would mean that British interests would be unrepresented as crucial decisions were taken," the 15 execu tives warned in a letter to the Finan-

"Such a gesture of far from splen did isolation could leave British firms at a competitive disadvamage for years to come — whether or not Britain eventually chose to join.

The mixture of chairmen and chief executives of companies boasting "billions of dollars of export business and creating tens of thousands of jobs in this country" is led by Tony Hales, head of Allied Domecq, the drinks group, and includes such giants as BAT. British Aerospace, BP, Bupa, Coopers and ybrand, Glaxo-Wellcome, Guinness. Unigate, Unilever and Vauxhall.

In coming off the fence in a debate which could tear the Conservatives spart before the election, the industrialists have sided decisively with the Clarke-Heseltine wing of the Cabinet. which wants to keep options open - as do Tony Blair and his team.

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Union anger at no-strike proposal

ENSIONS between the trade unions and the Labour party spilled over on the eve of this week's TUC conference, as trade union leaders poured scorn on leaked Labour plans to curb public sector strikes and TUC officials sought to paper over divisions around the level of a future mini-

Labour's education and employ-ment spokesman, David Blunkett, is floating a proposal for no-strike, binding arbitration agreements for public service workers.

But although some union leaders welcomed a debate about how to preserve industrial peace, any arbitration scheme - regarded as an attempt to defuse the Conservatives' threats to introduce new union con trols in the wake of this summer's strikes - has been dismissed as un-

The likelihood that the TUC will also vote to demand a £4.26 per hour minimum wage in the first year of a Labour government, along with a more Labour-friendly call for £4-plus with a final TUC target figure to be left until after the election, was meanwhile gleefully seized on by Tory ministers.

As the Conservative party chairman, Brian Mawhinney, claimed that the proposed legal minimum wage of £4.26 would cost a million jobs, the Unison leader, Rodney Bickerstaffe, said this was the very amount an hour MPs had voted themselves as an increase carlier this year. "I'm not knocking their increase. All I'm saying is you cannot vote through an increase of £9,000 a year and then say to the poorest

much as we have got as an increase. It's double standards," he said.

A Unison-National Union Mineworkers motion for £4.26 was expected to be passed when the ssue is debated on Wednesday.

John Monks, TUC general secreary, was defeated over the issue by 19 votes to 15 on the TUC General Council last week. But he and other union leaders who regard specifying £4.26 as a tactical mistake were taking heart from the support for a General Council statement and a GMB general union motion, which they said would take precedence.

That aims to kick the issue into touch as a Tory electoral weapon by deferring an exact figure, while applying pressure on Labour to

workers in the country you cannot accept for your full year's work as close to £4.

Labour has in any case made lear it will leave the entire issue to a Low Pay Commission. But, with continuing strikes throughout the public sector and the Tories determined to make them an election issue, Mr Blunkett's intervention

may be more difficult to handle.

He said that he wanted to "set out the framework for a consultation process on how to find a way forward which seeks to resolve disputes rather than exacerbate them".

He is not proposing any system of compulsory binding arbitration which would take away the right to take industrial action. However, it is understood he will propose that public sector unions could be asked to sign voluntary agreements.

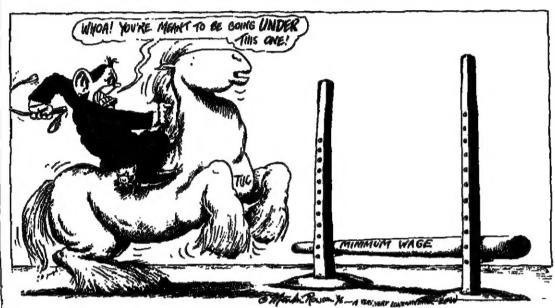
which would replace the strike tion with binding arbitration.

One union leader, the rightwing Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union general secretary. Ken Jackson, declared that strikes should become a thing of the past in the 21st century. Under a Labour government committed to social partnership, they could be replaced "small fast-track Arbitration Appeal Units".

But he was an isolated voice.

John Edmonds, GMB general secretary, said binding arbitration schemes for public sector workers was a "boomerang policy for any government", which would effectively be signing away its control of public sector pay.

Class war, page 19



parents' right to beat him

Clare Dyer

THE mother of a 12-year-old boy who is challenging parents' right to use corporal punishment at the Rights in Strasbourg claimed that he was totally out of control.

The boy, who cannot be named for legal reasons, claims a beating with a garden cane by his stepfather when he was nine was "inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment", contravening the European Convention on Human Rights.

The boy has been given the right to pursue his case at the European Court of Human Rights. A court rul-ing could lay down the parameters for the circumstances in which corporal punishment would be permitted and limit parents' rights to discipline their children by beating them. The boy's stepfather was actual bodily harm but the jury acquitted him.

The mother-of-five said: "I have had problems with him ever since he was two." She had lost count of the number of times she had been called to the boy's school because of his disruptive behaviour. On the occasion his stepfather beat him he was trying to stab one of the other children with a knife, she added.

The Department of Health will argue that parents have a right to

Boy questions | Howard rapped by EU court over lifers

Alan Travis

MICHAEL HOWARD has suf-fered another defeat in European Union courts - this time over the rights of prisoners. Last week's ruling by an arm of

the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg said the Home Secretary had violated the rights of discretionary life sentence prisoners by making them wait two years between each official review of their possible release date.

Penal reformers said the judg-ment by the Committee of Ministers was a "powerful indicator" of how the European Court will eventually view the case of the two boys convicted of killing Liverpool toddler lamie Bulger, regarding the way their sentences have been fixed.

The ruling involved an inmate convicted of manslaughter for killing his mother, and follows a similar ruling in 1990 which said that discretionary life sentence prisoners had a right to have their sentence reviewed once their initial "tariff" ex-

those who have been convicted of serious offences short of murder, including manslaughter, arson and rape. The Strasbourg court ruled that Mr Howard had left it too long to introduce the new review system for discretionary lifers, and that the two-year interval between reviews laid down by the 1991 Criminal Jus-

tice Act was also too long. A High Court judge has given the go-ahead for a new legal battle the go-ahead for a new legal battle was ambiguous, and called for legis-over early release for prisoners who lation to clarify it.

follows a High Court ruling backing a decision by Mr Howard, that prisoners serving consecutive sentences should have time remanded in custody subtracted just once, rather than from each sentence.

The latest case centres on the way release dates are calculated for prisoners serving concurrent sentences. Two prisoners claim they are being wrongly held, and are pressing for the case to be heard this month.

While backing Mr Howard's method of treating remands in custody in consecutive sentence cases, Lord Justice Simon Brown cast doubt on the method used for concurrent sentences. He said the law

Prisoner's big squeeze saves choking jailer

T MAY be rare for someone who has taken a life to have the first aid on the outside, and reportunity to save one, but a former miner sentenced to life for murder has made the most of his chance, writes Duncan

Campbell Welshman Terence Hughes was being supervised by prison officer Michael Bugg at a hostel in Nottingham prison when he noticed that all was not well with

The officer had staggered, apparently unable to breathe, into the room where Mr Hughes was idminister reasonable chastisement. | watching television. As a miner.

ilised Mr Bugg might have be about to choke to death,

Mr Bugg, aged 51, of Toton Vottingbamshire, said he had been cating on orange when the elephone rang, and he had tried to swallow a whole segment beto swallow a whole segment before answering. But the orange
stuck in his windpipe. At first,
Mr Hughes thought that Mr
Bugg was playing a joke. Once
he realised Mr Bugg could not
breathe, he sprang into action.
Mr. Bugg could be action.

his gratitude, and in different

Mr Bugg could barely express

Mr Hughes had learned about | circumstances, might have said he was "choked"

"I would not be here today if it hadn't been for him," he said. "I thank this man from the bottom of my heart. "He rushed to help me and

slapped me hard on the back. When this falled, he grabbed me from behind and performed Heimlich's manoeuvre —

squeezing my chest very hard. "When the orange shot down into my stomach, it was like a champagne cork popping. The first thing I said to him was 'Thank God you were here'."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY September 15 1996

ATTHEW HARDING, the multi-millionaire co-owner of John Major's favourite football club, Chelsea, became Labour's biggest individual donor when he gave the party £1 million.

in Brief

LANS for Europe's tallest building — the 420m London Millennium Tower were unveiled by the architect Sir Norman Foster. He said the 92-storey tower "will provide a landmark statement of the City of London's pre-eminence as Europe's financial capital".

HE MANAGEMENT of Scotland's principal women's prison, Cornton Vale, has come inder renewed acrutiny after the suicide of a fifth prisoner there is he past 15 months.

A CTRESS Helen Mirren picked up her first Emmy award during another successful night for Britain at America's premier television awards ceremony. She was named best lead actress for her role as a police inspector in Prime Suspect. Alan Rickman took the award for best male actor for his role in

WNERS of at least 90 Spanish fishing boats have launched a multi-million pound claim for compensation from the British government in the High Court, claiming their boats were unlawfully excluded from British

NNE BEVERLEY, aged 58, the mother of the Sex Pistols guitarist Sid Vicious, has been found dead from a suspected

A LARGE expansion in the use of informants paid £70 for every arrest lies behind reductions in household burglaries in some police force areas, according to the Audit Commission.

P OY THOMASON, a Tory backbencher whose busi-ness ran up debts of £6 million, said he was reconsidering his position after being effectively eselected by his local party.

RICKETER Ian Botham is to appeal and seek a retrial after losing his 13-day libel cata against Imran Khan in July, his lawyer said. Botham, who with fellow cricketer Alian Lamb sought damages against the for-mer Pakistan captain, is appealing on the grounds that the jury was misdirected.

HE Political Animal Lobby which has donated £1 million to Labour, has asked for it to be pointed out that it is not the British arm of the International Fund For Animal Welfare, as reported last week "We are a sister organisation with the same principles as IFAW, but we are separately funded," said Nick Jenkins of PAL.

'I am here for Christ' . . . The Rev Paul Williamson takes his case against the Queen to the Appeal Court

Rebel vicar takes on Queen

A CHURCH of England vicar was told by judges last week to drop that the Queen had broken her coronation oath by allowing the ordination of women as priests, writes James Meikle.

The Rev Paul Williamson, who argued the Queen was unlawfully led into agreeing the Church's "theological heresy", was warned that his submissions to the High Court were full of "legal heresies". Lord Justice Simon Brown and two other judges in the Court of Appeal all agreed that the arguments of the "sincere and determined" cleric were "hopeless" and should be abandoned.

Mr Williamson said afterwards: " shall not take the slightest bit of nolice. They can clap me in irons. I am here for Christ, not their silly witterings." He intended to pursue his case to the House of Lords and the European Court if necessary.

Mr Williamson argued that the politically correct" decision by the Church of England had flouted ecclesiastical law. The Church had used a "wretched piffling" canon to introduce women priests with the agreement of Parliament, but it was legally impossible for the Queen to agree to any measure that breached her oath to "preserve inviolably"

Record haul of rhino horns

Duncan Campbell

OLICE last week selzed what was believed to be a world record haul of rhino horn. Environmentalists said it showed that London was the centre of a worldwide market in

the illegal trade.
A total of 105 horns, weighing 240 kilograms and valued at £2.8 million, were selzed at a mews garage in Kensington, west London, by officers from the South-East regional crime squad. The horn is prized in the Far East for its medicinal and nlieged aphrodisiac properties.

Two men and two women from Cambridgeshire were questioned after the swoop. Rhinos are an endangered species and trade in the horn has been illegal since 1985. One of the women was later released.

The police worked on the month-long investigation with the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. An RSPCA spokeswoman said the haul represented more than 1 per cent of the white rhino population.

Diplomat in jail for porn

Elizabeth Pickering

A DIPLOMAT convicted of smuggling child pornography videos into Britain was sentenced to three years in prison at Southwark crown court in London last week.

More than 100 pornographi videos belonging to Robert Coghla ound at an Essex depot, featured him to his next post, in Madrid, where he would have enjoyed diplo-

matic immunity.

Judge Gerald Butler, QC, told

sel, objected to a suggestion made outside court by Jim McGregor, deputy chief investigator for Cus-toris, that the had was connected to

powers and proportional representa-

formerly press attaché to the British embassy in Japan, were seized by Customs in March. Most of them, abuse of young boys. The diplomat intended to take the material with

Coghlan: "I am satisfied beyond doubt that you always knew that large numbers of these video cassettes involved the exploitation. abuse and degradation of children." Russell Huston, Coghlan's coun-

the 20-year-old woman over two Mays free said: "It was an exceptionally large number of paedo-phile videos for anybody to have."

the 20-year-old woman over two days, Judge Graham Boal told them at the Old Bailey: "To say you behaved like animals would do an in-sander, said: "We have to ensure the

regional government in Scotland. his embattled Scottish spokesman, George Robertson, in the face of anger, ridicule and resignation calls that followed aban-Unlike Germany or Spain, few English regions have sufficient local identity to allow readily for eight or donment of a devolution policy 10 regional assemblies to match

over tax switch

HE Labour leader, Tony

Blair, at the weekend backed

Tony Blair has stumbled on the rocky road to decentralisation, says Michael White

Labour falters on devolution

which was just six days old. Less than a week after Labour's divided Scottish execut ive endorsed Mr Blair's twoauestion referendum plan, Mr Robertson revealed that he wanted to drop the idea of a second referendum on the tax issue which had been appended to clinch last week's majority.

The U-turn is the third devolu ion policy refinement in just over activists north of the border. Relief at the ditching of the

on proportional representation for a Cardiff assembly has stirred resentalmost universally derided secment among Labour MPs in the valand referendism was matched by levs, who fear it will give Plaid fury at the evidence of Walworth Road's contempt for the rulings Cvinru disproportionate power. It is déjà vu. Home Rule for Ireof its Scottish executive. land wrecked Gladstone's last gov-Senior ministers, including ernment in the 1880s; but for the the Deputy Prime Minister, first world war, it might have

Protestant Ulster threatened a rebelion. Instead, the IRA emerged fron the blood of the 1916 Easter Rising. In Scotland, nationalism has been a reviving force since the prestige of he imperial British state collapsed Scottish Nationalists and

ing government in Britain", the Tory policy

guru, David Willetts, once noted, "is

that England is the wrong size." By

that he meant it is too big to sit

easily in a federal system with

those demanded, at least by the polit-

ical classes, on the Celtic fringe. It

has not stopped efforts to decen-

tralise the modern British state al-

most since the enforced union with

Ireland in 1800 came a century after

the more-or-less voluntary Act of

Union between England and Scot-

With Labour in turnoil over its

Scottish devolution plans once again,

Wales, where Tony Blair's insistence

wrecked Asquith's in 1914 after

there is also trouble simmering it

Vales and Northern Ireland.

dismayed Liberal Democrats.
Mr Robertson, who saw after the second world war. Ironically, the immediate damage inflicted on Labour stems from John Labour's poll rating in Scotland Major's appointment of the Thatcherite Michael Forsyth as Scotslip to 48 per cent and the SNP's rise nine points to 20 per cent last week, said the intest move tish Secretary in 1994 after a series was not a change in policy, only of conciliatory grandees. Forsyth hacked symbolic gestures, such as the return of the Stone of Scone to 'a change in tactics" designed to rid the party of an idea that placate the Scots. But he also opened ommanded little or no support up against Labour's devolution plans which had been honed in a multi party Constitutional Convention since 1991. With Liberal Democrat Labour government failed to impose John Smith, the former Labour and Scottish TUC support — the Scottish Nationalist Party walked out lender, had been happier with this consensus than Tony Blair. When and the Tories never joined in the wily Forsyth started saying the

HE trouble with devolv- | Blair faces scorn Robertson, instituted a review. The result was the June 26 announce-ment that before a Blair government legislates to create an assembly it would seek a majority of Scottish voters in a two-question referendum: do they want an assembly; should it have tax-raising powers?

It is hard to convey the anger this U-turn created among nationalists Liberal Democrats and nationalistic Labour activists.

The theory was that a referendum win would legitimise the proposed assemblies and make i tarder for Tories to filibuster in Par liament as they did from 1976-79. What infuriated pro-devolutionists was the suspicion that Mr Blair was really inviting Scots voters to say No to tax-raising powers, which Mr Robertson had wanted precisely be cause it would instill responsibility into an assembly. Without them, he reasoned, the SNP could accuse London of keeping Scotland short of cash even though — as John Major said again in Glasgow last week the Treasury gave "over \$17 more per person per week" to support public services in Scotland than i England.

It might not under devolution, i Scots MPs continued to keep voting Michael Heseltine, and the powers over England's affairs, as in Scottish Secretary, Michael the famous West Lothian riddle posed in 1976 by the anti-devoluforsyth, who renewed calls for Mr Robertson's dismissai at a tionist Tum Dalyell, Why should fory "rally for the union" in West Lothian's MP be able to vote Porth on Monday, were joined on West Bromwich's schools and their condemnation by scornful not vice versa, he asked.

It is hard to have a semi-federal system and in 17 years of opposition Labour has managed to retine th problem, but not solve it.

The latest U-turn, which brought Tory and SNP jeers, reflects factical manoeuvres to minimise Labour a a Tory target.

Labour's Scottish executive, split over the June 26 change as is the whole Scottish party, voted on August 31 to back the two-part referendum, but only if voters were offered another referendum before the Edinburgh assembly actually raised (or lowered) the Scots tax rate.

Touring Scotland last week Mr Robertson found no support for this "tartan tax" would cost Scots up to compromise. So, he revealed, he 3p in the £1, and hit jobs and inward persuaded Mr Blair to drop it.

investment, Mr Blair and his shadow Scottish secretary, George Comment, page 12

Justice on trial after rape victim's ordeal

ICTIM support groups and women's organisations last week called for a review of the way rape trials are conducted after apanese student was forced to spend 31 hours in the witness box eliving her ordeal, which ended with her attackers receiving Jail senences of up to 10 years.

they produced a model for an assem-

bly which would have tax-raising

senting each of her five attackers over a record 12 days, prompted calls for the Bar Council to introduce new procedures to climinate unnecessary, repetitive and traumatic questioning in rape trials.

The young men received sentences of between 30 points and 10 years for the "brutal" gang rape of Quite how a human being treats someone as you treated her almost

The woman, fearful of causing distress to her Japanese family, chose to go through the trial alone. Afterwards, a spokeswoman for Victim Support, Helen Peggs, said the case highlighted the need for

"There must be a way of ensuring that if duplication happens, it really is necessary. Otherwise the end product will be that witnesses are so distressed they are unable to give

"The defendants have rights, of course, but you can't have a fair trial if the witness can't cope with the

ustice to the animal kingdom. | defendant gets a fair trial as well as ensuring that women aren't put of coming forward."

At the conclusion of the trial, the ringleader of the gang, 16-year-old Gerrard Molloy, was given two 10-year sentences for double rape, two six-year terms for alding and abetting others to rape the student, and four years for three indecent assaults, all to run concurrently.

questioning and the type of ques-Judge Boal told the attackers: "For the ordeal in a public court and in front of total strangers. Outrageous suggestions were put to her on your instructions. You, not your counsel added insult to injury and heaped further humiliation on her."

With one exception, none had expressed remorse.

The five others jailed, all from south London, were Jason Baksh, aged 18; Aynton Waite, 20; Roger Leslie, 19, Mark Boksh, 23, and An-



Ulster's dialogue of the deaf

A POLL published in Dublin this week found that 63 per cent of the Northern Ireland population believe that the province's talks process will end in failure. Pretty realistic stuff, one might think. In some respects the more surprising find-ing was that as many as 32 per cent thought they would succeed. But 24 hours after the poll's publication, even that now seems like reckless opti-

While the talks were in abeyance for the summer it was possible for their absence to breed illusion. It was conceivable that July's sectorian pettiness might be be put to one side when the participants reconvened this week. Hints over the weekend that the two main parties, the Ulster Unionists and the nationalist SDLP, had reached important procedural agreements also encouraged a marginally less pessimistic perspective. It was possible, just about, to persuade meself that there might now be n consensus for a fresh start. But such illusions evaporated when the parties came back on Monday.

What happened at Stormont gives cause only for gloomy realism. The early break-up of the session — the talks got bogged down within minutes — offered a clear signal that the Democratic Unionists are set on a long-term disruptive approach which the other parties do not know how to counter. After recent loyalist death threats, the DUP's Ian Paisley wants to exclude the Progressive Unionist Party (P(IP) and the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP) from the talks (both parties are, in the jargon, close to the loyalist paramilitaries). On Monday he delivered his ultimatum and then left for Canada. Not much sign of give-and-take there.

But then give-and-take has never been Mr Paisley's game. He is an exclusive, not an inclusive politician. He wants to marginalise the paramilitaries, partly because they threaten his votes, but mainly because his real target is Sinn Fein. If he can get the PUP and UDP out, Mr Paisley believes, it will be much harder for the British and Irish governments to finesse Gerry Adams into the process on the back of some sort of ceasefire.

It is a mark of the bankruptcy of the curren process that Mr Paisley should even bother to make such a suggestion. For there is not a shred of evidence that the two governments (especially the British) have either the intention or the ability to achieve such an objective. Even if they did, the mood in Ulster is clearly hostile as well as pessimistic. The Ulster Unionists' leader, David Trimble, made clear last week that he would not accept a referendum vote on Uister's future if he did not agree with it. Mr Palsley can be counted on to adopt an equally defiant approach. The opportunities opened by the peace process have all but closed, an outcome for which all the protagonists must share responsibility. It is good of Senator Mitchell to commit himself to stay on as chairman of the talks, but there is little sign that there is now a serious job for bim to do.

Tony Blair's tartan U-turn

N POLITICS as in business there are times to cut your losses. Such a moment has arrived for the Lebour party in Scotland. Its plan to hold not one but two referendums on devolution got more laughs than any stand-up comic on the Edinburgh Fringe; but it was laughter of the wrong sort, laced with justifiable derision. If Labour fell into so disastrous a muddle in Opposition, people asked, what on earth would it do in government? In with what he called a "steeplechase" of stupidity, and the Nationalists were able to contrast the sinplicity of their message of independence in Europe with the now ludierously extensive set of fences over which a Home Rule Bill, until recently simply dependent on a Labour electoral victory, would be made to jump. More ominously, the SNP are moving up in the opinion polls and are four points short of their historic high point - the second election of 1974 when they took 33 per cent of the vote in Scotland and 11 seats.

Labour's support for devolution has always contained a large element of pragmatism: above all, it | scrapers are not a matter of economics or populais designed to ston the Nationalists in the old | tion density, it's basically ego,"

industrial heartlands. But home rule within the Union is not a simple concept; were it so, then one of the many devolutionary proposals brought before Westminster since the 1890s would by now

Had the shadow Scottish Secretary, George Robertson, simply faced down the criticism the greeted the announcement of the first referendum the disillusion felt by Labour's partners in the Scottish Constitutional Convention would have been manageable. It is hard to dispute the principle that an important constitutional change should receive direct popular endorsement. Mr Robert-son was rattled in the first place by Tory attacks on he "tartan tax" which the Government asserts will flow from a tax-raising Scottish parliament and in the second by recriminations about a diluted comnitment from within the broad devolutionary camp and the nationalist wing of his own party.

The result was the curious fudge of a second referendum. Devolution may be designed to head off nationalist sentiment, but there are better reasons why Parliament should support it. A Scottish pariament will not only give Scotland a chance to express its distinctive values within the Union, but will address a real democratic deficit in Scotland. ruled by an oligarchy of quangos loaded with government sympathisers. The powerful Lahour regious have been dismembered in a reform of local dovernment imposed without consultation in the most aqualid traditions of gerrymandering. Scottish devolution is a trail-blazer for more general constitutional change. The most immediate consequence is that the number of Scottish MPs at estminater will have to be reconsidered, as will the place of the Scottish Secretary in the Cabinet. Labour's acceptance of proportional representation for a Scottish parliament makes it harder for it to resist its application at UK level, and the princi-ple that decision-making should be brought near to the people it affects is ostensibly endorsed even

by the Tory Europhobes. If Labour's muddle in Scotland has been risible. the cynicism of the Tory tactics is scarcely less so Scottish Secretary Michael Forsyth puts on the kilt for the premiere of Braveheart and persuades the Queen to return the Stone of Destiny to Scotland. He and the Prime Minister talk up nationalism praising its clarity. This is a masquerade. Their real purpose is to split the opposition vote, and a small Tory recovery along with the SNP rise in the polls suggests that the tactic is having some slight success. Labour has given them further ammuni tion. It is now in the throes of ditching its commitment to a second referendum. It can't be discarded too quickly. Better a short season of comedy than a long-running farce.

Reach for the sky

SCEPTICS will say it confirms only one fact: Britain's membership of the Third World. Plans were unveiled this week for Britain's biggest skyscraper. The proposed 420m Millennium Tower on the site of London's Baltic Exchange would be Europe's tallest building and even 4.5m higher than New York's Empire State. Certainly the dimensions of the new project signal the same sense of desperation which surrounded Malaysia's successful bid to build the world's tallest building in Kuala Lumpur. Millennium Tower will still fall 84m short of Kuala Lumpur's Petronas Towers but will be twice as high as the City's current highest building, NatWest Tower, and half as tall again as Docklands' Canary Wharf. It will ensure that Britain jumps ahead again of Germany, currently completing a 300m tower in Frankfurt, which may e juvenile but then no one can accuse Germany of Third World status.

Ideally there should be no skyscrapers in central London, not because they are nasty but because Europe's historic cities should not need to imitate America. Paris demonstrates the success of rigorings to the periphery. Life is much more civilised there, living among architecture of a human scale. But central London already has skyscrapers so it would be perverse to rule out another one. Sir Norman Foster is one of Britain's most creative architects, so people cannot quibble about the quality of the proposed building. The existing surplus of 280,000 square metres of London office space raises a more pertinent question. But then. us a member of the Council of Tall Buildings, the body which adjudicates on various international construction claims, has noted: "Extra tall aky-

Danger lurks in the drive for food profits

John Grav

Y CHRISTMAS most of the Processed foods we buy in supermarkets will contain soya bean that has been genetically

In several parts of the world research is being undertaken on transplantation to humans of organs that have been taken from genetically manipulated animals. Many of the detergents, sprays and pesticides that we use in our homes and gardens contain synthetic chemicals that, according to some scientists, can disrupt human hormona balance and may be implicated in the decline of male fertility. In these and innumerable other ways scientific and technological advances are being used to remodel the natural world to suit human needs. In using science in these ways, we are creating for ourselves an environment that has never before existed, and whose dangers are incalcuable. Governments, and some scientists, tell us that it is to science that we must turn for an assessment of the risks we are running, and how to imit them.

The history of the crisis sur rounding BSE ("mad cow disease" should have taught us that such re assurances are not worth much. A few months ago there was much talk by government ministers of turning to "the science" to tell us what the risks are and how best to control them. The clear implication was that if only we rely on "the science" then we will be safe. In part this was a routine political cop-out At the same time, this kind of public discourse reflects a cardinal fact of life in late modern Britain, For most people nowadays science is the only institution that possesses anything

akin to authority. People turn to science for what religions no longer supply — a sense of certainty. Much of the power of science in late modern cultures comes from the fact that, unlike the churches, it operates an effective system of censorship against heretics, and is not river

constantly by public schisms. The certainty which people seek in science is, of course, an illusion. On many of the issues that worry people today there is no scientific consensus. Claims that synthetic chemicals contribute to declining sperm levels are strongly contested. Scientific estimates of the risks of global warming vary widely. No doubt some of the differences among scientists about the nature and magnitude of current environmental risks arise from rivalries among pressure groups and from

The real source of scientific uncertainty in many of these matters, however, is the novelty of our present condition. There has been an explosive growth of scientific knowledge about genetics over the past generation; but no one knows what will be the effects of introducing genetically engineered plants or animals into natural environments. A great deal has been learnt about viruses and the immune system since the emergence of Aids; but the consequences of transplanting the organs of pigs into human beings remain unknown. In forging ahead with such experiments we | catastrophes.

are taking risks — with human health, the wellbeing of other ani mal species and the environment about which science can, at present tell us very little. We need basic sci entific research - at present badly underfunded in Britain - to iden tify emerging dangers to the environment. We are, in effect, turning the planet - and our own everyday lives - into the site of vast unsupervised scientific experiments, whose risks we can know, if at all, only

retrospectively. In this unprecedented situation ve would be wise to consider adopt ing a precautionary approach to environmental dangers. We should be willing to forgo promising techno logical innovations if they carry catastrophic risks, even if current scientific knowledge suggests that the probability of disaster is low. We should put the responsibility on those who manufacture new environmental risks, and thereby shift the initiative to their potential and actual victims. Applying a principle of this sort

ntails an enormous departure from present practice. It can easily be caricatured as a new form of Luddism. t involves huge changes in industries in which intensive methods are currently driven by the imperatives of commercial survival. It shifts the assessment of risk from being the exclusive prerogative of scientific expertise to being a matter for the ethical and political judgments of lay people. If it could be made politically palatable — a very tall order in a culture sustained by the faith that here are technical fixes for all numan ills — a precautionary approach to new technologies might safeguard us against many of the dangers we are at present con-

ANY emerging hazards to human health and the environment come from interactaken in isolation from one another. seem reasonably safe. New biotechnologies are defended on the ground that genetically engineered crops will need fewer pesticides and chemical fertilizers. We cannot know, though, how new forms of life that appear safe in laboratory tests will react when they are released irreversibly — into the wider world. Their interactions with their natural counterparts and with synthetic chemicals already in the environment will be largely unpredictable. Adopting a precautionary approach o genetic engineering and other echnologies could protect us gainst many dangers.

But not, perhaps, against some of the worst risks. Amongst the many factors contributing to the BSE crisis, the feeding of an herbivorous species with animal protein resdered from the same species out starkly. There can be few clearer expressions of the modern view of the Earth as a resource to be exploited for the benefit of humans society in which the feeding o cow-remains to other cows can pass almost unnoticed until disaster strikes is one in which the very idea of nature is all but dead. No improvement in the calculus of risks is likely to protect a culture in the grip of scientific and technologic hubris from further environmental

Le Monde

France draws a line in the sand over Iraq

Mouna Naim

T UST as France had no hesitation in disagreeing with the United States over the Israeli "Grapes of Wrath" operation in southern ebanon last April, or in adopting a measured stance at the Sharm el-Sheikh "anti-terrorist" summit i March, the French governmen made it quite clear, on September 3, that it did not approve the US air

strikes against Iraq. Paris, which has done its best to pursue an independent Middle East policy ever since Jacques Chirac became president, quickly saw that here was another golden opportunity o be its own master, particularly since the US seemed to be on shake legal ground in acting as it did.

Officially, Paris did no more than express, through the Quai d'Orsay, its "concern" at developments in the situation in Iraq after the US launched Tomahawk cruise missiles against targets in the south of the

The French used diplomatically restrained language because they are extremely reluctant to give the impression they are dissociating themselves from a valued ally, given that they too are highly critical of the regime of Saddam Hussein.

But Paris, which has done its best for months to cajole Baghdad into respecting United Nations resolunons and played a far from negligible role in persuading Saddam to accept the so-called "oil for food" Resolution 986, would like Iraq to be the gradually to return to the inter-

It holds that view not only because the embargo imposed by the I'N more than six years ago has tailed to topple Saddam and because the living conditions of the Iraqi people have steadily declined, but also because Paris, which had a spe-

fore the Gulf war, would like to re-

On the evening of September 2 the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, tried once again to make Saddam see reason. In a messige to the Iraqi prime minister, fariq Aziz, he urged that Baghdad 'effectively withdraw the forces [it] and sent into the field".

France knew full well that once he Americans had engaged in a trial of strength with Saddam they would be forced — irrespective of the run-up to the presidential elections — to respond to frag's inter zention in Kurdistan.

Even if Saddam had completely withdrawn his troops once the fight ers of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) had been repelled, his renewed alliance with its rival, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), was going to give him a fresh toehold in Kurdistan. Washington felt it had to pick up the gauntlet.

France's decision to keep its distauce from the US was made easier by the knowledge that the Arab countries, however hostile they may be to Saddam, are ted up with the US argument that the only language Saddam understands is the language of force and with its tendency to mote out ramishment rather than try to solve problems. By September 3, the only Arab country that had approved the US action was Kuwait.

Nor do the reasons invoked by the US to justify its action against lrag have any foundation in law. As the French government pointed out. Iraq did not violate any UN resolution by sending ground troops into Kurdistan, an area declared "a no-fly zone" and placed under the protection of a multinational force.

The UN Security Council's Reso-

lution 688, the interpretation which allowed the Western nations to set up that zone, makes no provision for military reprisal. The imposition of the no-fly zone, first north of the 36th parallel, then, in August 1992, south of the 32nd parallel, was in a sense a unilateral action. Now the US has decided to extend it in southern Iraq from the 32nd up to the 33rd parallel.

It is true that this will enable the Western allies to keep a closer eye on certain military sites located between the two parallels - and that kind of surveillance is vital given that Iraq consistently tries to hoodwink UN teams of inspectors.

However, the extension of the zone is not only a unilateral decision, but no longer takes into ne count the protection of the civilian population.

At the Sharm el-Sheikh summit which President Bill Clinton and the then Israell prime minister, Shimon Peres, wanted to turn into a virulent anti-terrorist forum that would guarantee the latter's re-election, Chirac pointed out that repression was not enough in itself and that the root of the problem would have to be dealt

In April, with even greater deterulnation. France took advantage of chinks in US foreign policy pactics and managed to play a role in the negotiations that led up to a ceasefire in Lebanon.

De Charette broke new ground when he opted for a type of shuttle diplomacy that had previously been the sole prerogative of the Americans. France had the advantage of being able to present itself as a methintor, whereas the US had already approved the Israeli intervention in southern Lebanon.

Paris, too, was quick to condemn the slaughter by Israeli shells of more than 100 Lebanese civilians sheltering at a UN compound in southern Lebanon last May, whereas Washington was slow to react to the tragedy.
(September 5)

Mad cow crisis cuts beef prices to the bone

François Grosrichard

A S SUMMER draws to a close, the "mad cow" saga continues to exercise the minds of French beef farmers. The most urgent problem now facing them is what to do with their autumn bullocks. These animals, mainly breeds that are highly prized for their meat, such as Charolais, Salers and Aubrac, are born between November and January, put out to grass during spring and summer, and then sold mostly (80 per cent) to Italian farmers in the Po Valley, who fatten them on irrigated maize and slaughter them four to six months later.

departements in Burgundy and the Massif Central until the BSE crisis broke in March, The Italians have virtually stopped buying any French beef animals, and it is hard to see when and under what conditions sales will pick up again.

St-Christophe-en-Brionnais. the heart of Charolais country in the Saone et-Loire département, has one of the oldest weekly cattle markets in France. Before dawn, hard

wholesalers, buying groups and exporters sets guide-lines for the day's prices. Volumes, prices, weights and the build of animals are subjected to close scrutiny by experts from the Inter-professional Office of Meat and Poultry Farmers (Ofival).

The Saone-et-Loire has more suckler cows (whose milk feeds calves that later grow into beef animals) than any other departement is France. So the problem of what to do with its plethora of young bullocks is becoming an increasing headache.

"The crisis here has hit a sector That, at least, had been the tradi- | the Saone-et-Loire prefect. Denis | partements," says Prient, "It will all | increasingly strict inspections while | party's popularity. tional pattern of things in some 15 | Pricur, who will shortly be getting almost 30 million francs (\$6 million) to help farmers in particularly desperate straits. "Farmers have no room for manoeuvre in their dealings with buyers and slaughterers. Everyone tries to make a killing, and this has badly affected solidarity within the profession."

The scale of the problem can be judged from the way prices have moved at the St-Christophe-en-Brionnais market. On August 8

farmers were getting about 10 francs (\$2) per kilo live weight for bullocks, as compared with 11.75 francs two months earlier, 15.25 francs on average in 1995 and 17 francs in 1994.

In other words, by mid-September, when farmers will no longer be able to hang on to animals that put on weight every day and, propor-tionally, decline in value, prices could well fall straight through the floor. In that case farmers are expected to take to the barricades.

"About 20 of us prefects are bracing ourselves but not panicking sions taken by France and the European Commission."

Under the proposed plan, some 300,000 animals, which represent 70,000 tonnes of meat and a third of overall French bullock production, will be slaughtered and stored at the European Union's expense.

"Europe will have to ensure that beef is the subject of a specific policy and not a by-product of the dairy industry," says Christian Decerle, a

local farmers' trade union leader. "At present, 70 per cent of beef in the EU comes from dairy herds, and only 30 per cent from bullocks raised by suckler cows. That will have to change."

"Up until the end of June, we wanted to show the responsible, friendly side of trade union action by organising 'open days' at farms and promotional operations. Now we've had enough, Luckily we've got people who are prepared to stop and inspect lorries and open up

supermarket cold stores. "In early August we found Belgian cow meat in an Autun abattoir which had been through an abattoir in the next département and come we can hardly declare a state of out with a Charolais beef stamp on depend on the credibility of deci- the big swindlers stip through the

Beef farmers hung the carcass of one of the Belgian cows on the railings of Macon prefecture while Pricur met the men who had just taken the law into their own hands. Meanwhile Decerle decided to put one car of a bogus Charolais cow in his freezer just in case the public prosecutor found he was short of hard evidence.

(August 30)

Media darling admits 'drink problem'

Benoît Peltler in Stockholm

HE woman politician who appeared on Swedish TV lookng breathless, haggard and drynouthed was barely recognisable Here was the darling of the Swedish media admitting, live, that she had a "drink problem" and "needed to go on a course of treatment", la less than 10 minutes of straight talking, 48-year-old Gudrun Schyman had art her political career on the line.

Schyman had a great deal to lose, She had energetically - and successfully -- revamped the image of the former Swedish Communist Party, now called the Left Party; for months now, opinion polls have credited it with 12 per cent of voting intentions, which is double its score it the 1994 elections and puts it into third place nationally.

Her decision to come clean was all he riskier because Sweden is a country where people have a curious evelute relationship with alcohol and where temperance societies are still active. She said she started drinking, "like everyone else", in her teens But it had got to the toint where it couldn't go on any longer" She did not beat about the bush: There are times when I lose at meterment."

Schyman will start a formight's ourse of treatment this week be fore, she hopes, resuming her activities as party president. It was the "stress" and "musicity" generated by her job that find caused all the problems in the first place.

Why was she owning up now; "It's better for me to talk about it rather than being hounded by the press," she replied, aware no doubt that an evening paper was about to expose her fondness for the bottle.

Political reporters got wind of her problem some time ago, but the secret was well kept, perhaps because, as Schyman herself pointed out. this is a problem that exists in all political parties, all companies and

all newspapers". Schyman is keen to stay on in her ob. Although the Left Party's executive committee had since renewed is confidence in her, there is no knowing how voters, and in particular the party's rank and file, will react. Since becoming its leader three years ago - the party had just decided to stop calling itself "communist" - she has given it a new image that is more attractive to

women and young people.

"Big Gudrun" — she is 1.60mplus tall — is considered by some to be a bit of an opportunist: she appears on countless talk shows and once turned up at a rave event that had been banned by the police. But that was already struggling," says | emergency in our respective de- | it. Our farmers are subjected to | she has undoubtedly boosted her

Its resolutely anti-European Union, anti-nuclear, and now openly "feminist" stance has helped it to wenn potential voters away from the ruling Social Democratic Party, whose sweeping cost-cutting programme has been far from popular. Schyman, a former social worker, hopes she will be heeded when she suggests that "political leaders should be allowed to be both strong and weak at the same time'

(September 4)

Thomas Sotinel In Bamako and Abidjan

HEN the first batch of Malian immigrants evicted from St Bernard's Church in Paris a week ago arrived in the Malian capital, Bamako, a senior official said: "There is such a thing as public opinion here too, you know." That is something the French government does not seem to have taken on board.

The African media have given wide coverage to the way immi-grants are treated in France, showing how they undergo repeated identity checks because of the colour of their skin, run into administrative barriers aimed at preventing families from being reunited, and risk collective deportation.

France's traditional "African vocation" may yet manage to survive such adverse publicity. But if it does, it will be thanks solely to the attitude adopted by the governments of French-speaking Africa. In the eyes of many ordinary Africans, France's image has been badly dented by the illegal immigrants affair.

French-speaking African states, which respect France's immigration laws and are keen not to jeopardise the allocation of French aid to their fragile economies, have always approached the problem of emigration to France from a purely technical standpoint. They themselves have large immigrant populations, and can understand France's action, even if the Ivorian government daily newspaper, Fraternité Matin, criticised the brutality used by police when they stormed St Bernard's

dent, Alpha Oumar Konaré, has strong reservations about the system of packing illegal immigrants on to chartered planes - "We feel it is a violation of our compatriots' dignity" — he has repeatedly said that candidates for emigration must obey the laws of their host countries.

Since Moussa Traoré was de posed in 1991, Mali has based its foreign policy on a delicate balance between loudly proclaimed independence and the need to maintain good relations with its former colo-

By diversifying its sources of aid as much as possible, Ramako tries to keep its distance from Paris whenever it feels necessary. When Jacques Chirae made his first visit to Africa as president in July 1995, Konaré refused to attend the reglonal meeting organised by France in Dakar, because he felt he had been summoned rather than invited there. France, however, remains Mali's biggest provider of aid, which amounted to \$90 million last year.

As regards the St Bernard affair,

Barnako would have preferred that the French authorities refrained from using force until it had completed a co-operation project aimed at encouraging people from the Kayes region, who make up the bulk of Malians living in France, to return to and settle in their region of origin. The visit to Mali by the French co-operation minister, Jacques Godfrain, on September 23 will be largely devoted to a presentation of the project.

Bamako had earlier sent its min-Ister with special responsibility for inability to influence France, a coun-Malians abroad to meet the St try much more powerful than



Riot police drag away one of the immigrants who took refuge in St Bernard's church

vince them that they had not chosen the best method.

Mali now feels its efforts have not been properly recognised by France, particularly after the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, claimed certain African countries were not doing enough to curb illegal emigration to France.

As for those Malians who have no desire to emigrate to France - the vast majority — the signal from Paris has been received loud and clear. They were glued to their radio and television sets as the illegal immigrant crisis unfolded, and saw its outcome as further proof of Mali's heir daily lives. Paris would like its former

colonies to go on speaking French; but the number of black Africans who come to France to study i dwindling every year. The French authorities would also like them to stick to the rules of global neoliberalism — but only on condition that projects financed by French money are carried through by French companies.

Matters are not helped by the kind of problems faced by Africans wishing to come to France. One of Ivory Coast's most highly regarded academics admits that he can no

Bernard immigrants and try to con-vince them that they had not chosen | theirs, and one that still believes it is | France without feeling appreha-entitled to play a dominant role in | sive, because of the rebuffs he is gration officials when he applies for a visa, and because of police identity checks during his stay. Africans vote, too. Their leaders

> s was shown recently in Benin, a e thrown out by the ballot box is sub-Saharan Africa, emigration could well become a domestic polit cal issue. If that happens, Franc cannot expect to remain protecte for ever from a backlash that coul extract a high price for what Africans regard at best as bad man ners, and at worst as a form of apartheid that dare not speak it (August 30 and September 3)

The Washington Post U.S. Needs New Strategy in Middle East

not enough to offset setbacks in Washington's war on Saddam, argues Lally Weymouth

HEN Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait six years ago, President George Bush endeavored to forge an international coalition even as Washington developed a strategic plan to counter Saddam Hussein's aggression. Last week President Clinton, having observed Saddam's forces marching into northern Iraq — en-tering the U.S.-guaranteed "safe baven" for Iraqi Kurda — responded with unilateral missile strikes intended to disable Saddam's air defense system, In this undertaking, Washington enjoyed the support of only one U.S. ally -Great Britain — despite the fact that the United States was acting to enforce a 1991 U.N. resolution.

A key distinction between the Gulf War and the present hostilities turns on the fact that five years ago Turkey was a close U.S. ally, Indeed one of the first calls Bush placed was to the late Turgut Ozal, Turkey's president. Ozal immediately granted Bush the right to fly U.S. sorties from Turkish bases, which became an important factor in the victory of the U.S.-led coalition.

Now, however, the vaunted Gulf War coalition appears to have evaporated. France and Russia have been lobbying to lift the U.N. sanctions on Iraq. Meanwhile, the relationship between Ankara and Washington us deteriorated to an amazingly hw level: President Clinton didn' wen place a phone call to Turkish frime Minister Necmettin Erbakan list week. Nor did the president request permission to use Turkish bises for U.S. air missions.

fust after the Gulf War. Ozal in vited the two key Kurdish leaders - Massoud Barzani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, and Jalal Talibani, who heads the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan — to Ankara, "He had a vision," says one of the late president's key aides, adding that Ozal kept the Kurds "under Turkish tutelage.

Since Ozal's death, however, suc cessive Turkish governments have sought to disengage from the Kurds in northern Iraq. Ankara has been backs the terrorists of the Kurdish guided by an overriding fear that Workers Party (PKK), who main-

the zone created in northern fraq | tain bases in northern fraq from | might pave the way to an independent Kurdish state - a major threat, from Turkey's standpoint, to its own security. In this context, Turkish officials began to hope that Saddam would reassert his control over the area. The Gulf War alliance between Turkey and the United States re-

quired enormous economic sacri-fice from Turkey, which had long enjoyed substantial trade with Iraq. Turkey, moreover, has continued to suffer economically as a consequence of the United Nations' anti-Iraq sanctions regime, which deprived it of considerable revenues from the passage of Iraqi oil through a Turkish pipeline. Turkey thus began to shift its pri-

orities. The new Islamist government in Ankara now makes no secret of its interest in seeing the sanctions terminated. Recently, Turkey's prime minister sent two high-level emissaries to Baghdad with a special message for Saddam: They told Iraqi officials that Ankara wanted to normalize relations between the two countries.

Crushed between Turkey and Baghdad, northern Iraq also had to

which they strike at Turkey, PKK peace talks between the Kurdish factions got underway in Landon. leader Abdullah Ocalun actually By then, however, Barzani had althe major Kurdish factions - Talaready "invited" Saddam to invade the "safe haven." bani's and Barzani's - were threaened by the well-armed PKK, which had some 40,000 troops in the area. As a result, in true Middle Eastern own military activity. Ankara's goal fashion, the two Kurdish groups s to create a permanent security began to court Damascus. In the zone from which to strike at PKK end, the Barzani faction - whose terror camps. This development cap only complicate the U.S. effort to clations with Turkey had been deteriorating since Ozal's time force Saddam's troops to withdray struck up an alliance with Saddam from northern Iraq. Barham Salih of the Patriotic and with the PKK. Meanwhile, Tala-

bani turned to Iran for support. If Washington made a single key strategic error during this confusing period, it was courting Syria's Hafez Assad. Secretary of State Warren Christopher visited Syria repeatedly, to no avail, and President Clinton even called on Assad in Damascus. In the end, the wily Syrian dictator saw an opening in northern Iraq and played off one

Kurdish faction against another.

Angry at the Kurds for fürting with Damascus, Turkey unwisely turned its back on them. Washing ton also failed to ensure Kurdish unity. Lacking adequate economic resources, the two key Kurdish factions fell to fighting over resources

Chechens **Mourn Dead** ee Hockstader n Grozny, Russia

Celebrating

T HOUSANDS of Chechens L streamed across the shrapneltrewn rubble of what used to be Grozny's graceful central square last week to mourn their war dead and commemorate their drive for inde pendence that began five years ago.

Chechen leaders, wary of provok ng Moscow with too triumphant a celebration, had banned any military parades and declared the occasion one of remembrance and sacrifice. Still, the official solemnity of the day - the prayers and dances for the deceased - did not disguise the fact that most Chechens believe the 20month war with Russia is over essentially because they have won it.

It was on September 6, 1991, that a mobiled by Ozhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet air force general, stormed the Communist-dominated parliament in Chechnya and effecively dissolved it. Dudavey was elected president of the region a few weeks later. When Moseow decounced the election as a traud. Indayey declared Chechava inderendent of Russia.

Dudayev was killed in April by a Russian rocket attack, but his memory lives on strongly here. People hanted his name last week and plas tered his image around rown Meth rs name their babies after him

Friday last week was doubly triimphant for many Chechens, marking not only the five-year anniversary of their bid for independence but also the one-month anniversary of Union of Kurdistan claims that this the rebel raid on Grozny that led to a

calamitous defeat for Moscow. Last Friday, a couple of Russian armored troop carriers rumbled by the downtown raily, but the Thechens did not pay them much atention. The dwindling presence of Russian forces in Grozny these days clearly poses no threat, and they are able to move about at all only be-

cause the Chechens tolerate it. Indeed, despite a steady stream of criticism in Moscow of the peace process and its champion, Russian national security chief Alexander Lebed, it is apparent here that peace has its own momentum on the

ground in Chechnya. Nonetheless, it was hard for some Russians to awallow even the nuted celebration here and in other towns and villages around the re-gion. At a Russian military checkpoint on the edge of town, a group glumly as the traffic streamed past. One boy on the back of a flatbed truck made an obscene vesture a the troops. Other cars had their windshields plastered with pictures of Chechen war heroes, some of whom are regarded as terrorists in Moscow's eyes. And armed guerrillas leaned out of jeeps flying the green flag that symbolizes Checken ndependence.

"This goes on like this all day," said a Russian major, his eyes cold as he watched the passing traffic.

Lebed, just back in Moscow after another trip to Chechnya to firm up the peace, told a television interviewer that the war will be difficult if not impossible to reignite. "We have ended the war." he said flatly.

Hercule Poirot is needed back home

Jean de la Guérivière in Brussels asks why

Belgian police seem so bad at solving crimes

A TTHE time of his arrest on August 14, Marc Dutroux was no obscure Dr Jekyll whose apparent normality concealed a monstrous Mr Hyde; he was a convicted child rapist and, on top of that, a thief and a dealer in stolen cars who was well known to the authorities because several members of his gang were

The leniency he enjoyed and the mpunity with which he was able to commit his crimes - he was released after serving only three years of a 13-year sentence for child abuse - have led to some speculation in Belgium that he was protected by paetlophiles "in high because initial investigations were places". But it would probably be a greatly hindered by the running mistake to read villainy into decisions whose ineffectuality and incompetence were, in a sense, built into the Belgian legal system.

Although in many ways Belgium resembles a federal state, its legal system is not like that of the United States. Legal codes, procedures and sentencing practice are the same throughout the country. The person who takes ultimate responsibility is the justice minister. He is a member of the national government and has no counterparts in Belgium's various local governments.

As regards criminal cases which, | Cools, in 1991 gave rise to all sorts like the Dutroux case, involve the whole of Belgian territory, matters are not made any simpler by the fact that a single examining magistrate has to match up investigations carried out in two different languages

But there is another ingredient

stages of the Dutroux affair.

was ever established - except the police's lack of professionalism.

The murder in Liège of the for-

of theories. But the police never managed to catch the mysterious killer, who calmly shot the éminence grise of the Liège Socialist Party in a car park in front of the woman he (French and Dutch).

that further complicates the issue: Belgium has no republican tradition of a centralised state. People have a strong sense of belonging to their city or province, and this can create fault lines even within the same linguistic community.

Co-operation between, for example, the authorities in Charleroi and compounded by clan rivalries, left a great deal to be desired in the early

Several major crimes have in the past remained unsolved largely battle between Belgium's various police forces. In the eighties, a mysterious group known as the "Brabant killers" indiscriminately murdered several supermarket customers in the Brussels area. There was no apparent motive for the killings, and the culprits were never caught. It was conjectured that the aim might have been to destabilise Belgium. Nato's host country. But nothing

ing questions. That explains why the Marc et Corine Association, founded by the

paper went on, "the legal system

has been dealt a terrible snub, and

public opinion normally reserves

Following the disappearance of

several young people in Belgium

over the past few years, the police

but, all too often, dismissed the

fears of distraught parents, arguing that the persons concerned had

probably run away from home, or

that the need for professional se-

crecy prevented them from answer-

for government and parliament".

has proved such a nationwide success. The Dutroux affair has prompted thousands of Belgians to support the association, which for too long was alone in consoling families that had lost their loved ones.

If the government is worried about the tone of some of the petitions now in circulation, notably in favour of bringing back the death penalty, it has only itself to blame. The determination shown by a

handful of magistrates in elucidat-Dutroux's various "homes" are loing recent corruption cases has cated in working-class areas of Walpartly restored the reputation of Belgium's judiciary. As the leading Catholic daily, La Libre Belgique, put it: "At a time when the revelation lonia, which has to a large extent been laid waste economically. Many of its inhabitants have to live off odd of those cases was deepening the

TN AREAS such as that, it is not ever-growing rift between public opinion and the political community, ▲ prudent to ask too many questhe law came to be seen as a haven tions about what neighbours are up But with the Dutroux affair, the boat. Only now are locals beginning to talk, after long ignoring the excavations of the strange "electrician unless it rapidly sends out clear and Dutroux, who belonged to a Christconcrete signals, it may find it is atian mutual insurance society.

tracting the same opprobrium that The local police, on the other hand, might have asked themselves questions that did not occur to local residents, such as where Dutroux, a repeated offender, got the money from to buy so many "second not only failed to find the victims homes".

But then Belgium's municipal police forces are often headed by people who were appointed because of their political affinities with local burgomasters (mayors), and who sometimes devote more of their time to political campaigning than they do to police work.

Dutroux is someone who paid no mer deputy prime minister, André | parents of two murdered children, | attention to the abstract "linguistic

speaking Flanders from Freich speaking Wallonia. He and an Marchal and Eefic Lambreks whos bodies were found on September near Dutch-speaking Ostend in Av gust 1995. An's parents, who a tended the recent funeral of Julie Leieune and Mélissa Russon, th eight-year-olds whose bodies were dug up last month, drew sympathetic applause from the French speaking Walloon crowd.

The Belgians are aware of the country's fragility, and they some how manage to hit on the right mood at ceremonies capable of bringing them together. In the view of a Brussels sociologist, King Bar and Mélissa's funeral was that "the daughters of Belgium".

In times of national crisis, peop tend to aspire to greater state in vention. That aspiration was reflected in the widespread (if unfal criticism levelled at King Albert when he failed to respond person ally to appeals from victims' parents and at the prime minister, Jean-Jut Dehaene, when he decided not be cut short his holiday.

(September 1/2) Le Monde

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Iragis Destroy CIA-Funded Operation

R. Jeffrey Smith

THE IRAQI military's recen L takeover of a city controlled by independent Kurdish groups broke up a longstanding CIA-funded covert operation to destabilize the Iraqi government and led to the arrest and apparent execution of more than 100 Iraqis associated with the effort, according to U.S. officials and Iraqi dissident sources.

The destruction of the headquar-ters in Irbil of the Iraqi National ters in Irbii of the Iraqi National | the group in Sulaymaniyah inside | Congress, which Washington had | Iraq, and in Washington and Londam Husseln, has fulfilled a major ambition of Saddam's security ser- puters purchased in part with vices, the officials said.

The dissident group never succeeded in posing a serious chal-lenge to Saddam's power and had been in decline over the past 18 months, largely because of feuds among the Kurds, but it had repeatedly horassed the Baghdad govern

revenge, using a list of names and addresses of National Congress members, according to officials of set up in 1992 as an alternative to | don. The agents also looted the the regime of Iraqi president Sad- group's headquarters, seizing communications equipment and comcovert CIA funds.

Adding to the magnitude of the CIA's loss is the apparent execution of more than 100 members of the congress who were captured by the Iraqi secret police on August 31 near the town of Qushtapa. They had assembled in Irbil on August 28 and 29 as part of a police force being cre-When Irbil fell, Saddam's security ated at U.S. urging to halt fighting

between warring Kurdish groups. In contrast, a handful of American agents moved swiftly to exact their CIA officers who had been covertly stationed in a suburb of Irbit before the Iraqi attack were able to escape capture by leaving the area on August 30, reaching southern Turkey after passing through the northern town of Zakhu, according to several knowledgeable sources.

tion for the members of the dissident congress in Irbil has provoked nts Irom some of those asso ciated with the group, who say that Washington essentially washed its hands of the congress once the Iraqi assault got under way.

Furkey hopes to take advantage

the crisis by contemplating its

episode "is a victory for Saddam."

According to Salih, Baghdad has

projected itself as a power to be reckoned with. The Kurd argues

that Washington's missile attacks

Salih's point is difficult to counter.

The United States needs to formu-

late a coherent policy to force Sad-

dam from northern Iraq or to

remove him from power. Air attacks

should target Iraqi troops in the north or Baghdad itself. If the Iraqi

dictator's recent actions spell the

end of the protected northern zone,

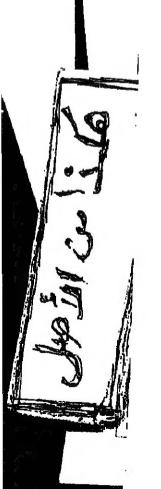
they constitute a tremendous set-back for the United States. Amer-

ica's honor and prestige are at stake.

amount "to no more than a slap on

The Iraqi dissidents' criticisms brought an angry rebuttal from a senior State Department official involved in policymaking on Iraq. There were clear warnings - public and private ones — that we considered . . . [the city of Irbil] an unsafe place," he said.

He noted that the congress members who were caught and executed at Qushtapa evidently had tried to repulse an Iraqi attack there before running out of ammunition, and added, "They knew of the dangers. It may have been foolhardy to try to The absence of any U.S. protec- | resist"the oncoming Iraqi forces.



Yousef Convicted of Bomb Conspiracy

A Srinagar anti-election protester huris back a tear gas canister at

some of the 200,000 troops overseeing the poll PHOTO SHERWIN CRASTO

ers of political groups last week | 16 paramilitary officers going from

under a preventive detention law be house to house, cursing residents

urday's voting. The state's police to vote. When other reporters ap-

chief, Mahendra Sabharwal, said proached, the squad walked away,

In Mazbugh, a small village on a

back road northwest of Srinagar,

the summer capital, a reporter saw

and its leader hurriedly explained

they were on routine patrol. Agi-

tated residents at a polling place

nearby said the paramilitary forces

In Drooru, a small village near a

mountainous area once popular

with tourists, turnout exceeded 64

percent, and residents lounged near

the polling place in a relaxed atmos-

phere, socializing. Syed Sajad, a state employee, said he favored the

had threatened them.

that they come out

have quashed the armed rebellion,

according to state officials, who said

they arrested three separatist lead-

cause they had tried to obstruct Sat-

the three were released after the

State officials said there were no

election-related deaths. Subharwal

acknowledged that a boy, 14, was

killed in cross-fire between troops

year-old boys died when a rocket-

propelled grenade fired from a

mountainside landed in a school-

Sabharwal dismissed reports that

and separatist rebels, and two 10

polls closed.

Dale Russakoff in New York

AMZI Ahmed Yousef, the alleged terrorist mastermind accused of scripting the World Trade Center bombing, and two co-defendants were convicted last week of a conspiracy to bomb 12 U.S. jumbo jets and 4,000 passengers out of the sky over the Pacific Ocean — a plot the government de scribed as "one of the most hideous crimes ever conceived."

After a three-month trial that opened a window onto the modern age of international terrorism, a federal jury in Manhattan convicted Yousef, Abdul Hakim Murad and Wali Khan Amin Shah on all seven counts related to the foiled bombing plot, which was to unfold over a twoday period in January 1995.

Yousef, 28, was convicted also of combing a Philippine Airlines jet in dress rehearsal for the larger con-spiracy, and Shah was convicted of crashed into the Atlantic Ocean Defense attorneys said after trying to escape from prison here.

All three showed no emotion as the jury foreman reported the verdicts and as a court clerk re-read them, intoning "guilty," again and again. The jury of five women and seven men, kept anonymous for security reasons, was escorted home by court personnel and did not comment. Lawyers for the three defendants said they would appeal.

Yousef's convictions carry three mandatory life sentences plus up to 100 years in prison and \$2.25 million in fines. He is to stand trial next year on charges of orchestrating and helping to carry out the 1993 Trade Center bombing, which transformed international terrorism from a distant horror to a threat facing Americans in their own communities.

The threat became even more real

barely 50 miles away from the courthouse here, with cerie parallels to Yousef's alleged plot to explode

planes over the Pacific. Prosecutors and defense attorneys feared that the July 17 crash, in which all 230 people on board perished, would prejudice the jury. which was not sequestered. Criminal investigators have speculated that a miniature, time-triggered bomb similar to those devised by Yousef was used, might have destroyed Flight 800 but so far they have uncovered no conclusive evidence to support

But after polling jurors and telling them to ignore reports about the TWA disaster, U.S. District Court Judge Kevin Thomas Duffy ruled that they would remain fair. After last week's verdict, he told Yousef, at mid-trial when Trans World Air | Murad and Shah that they had re-

Defense attorneys said after the verdict that they do not believe the horrific crash alone caused the jury o convict the defendants on all counts. But all said it may have been factor. "It's in their subconscious. It certainly played a part," said Shah's court-appointed attorney, David Greenfield

He also asserted that his client against whom prosecutors presented the least evidence - was convicted because of anti-Muslim prejudice and fear of terrorism. U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White and

James Kallstrom, head of the New York office of the FBI, declared the verdict a victory in what Kallstroni called a "war" on terrorism. They said afterward that Yousef's plot came very close to succeeding. It was uncovered as he and Murad mixed explosives in a Manila apart-ment and accidentally unleashed a smoke cloud that alerted a security guard — and eventually the police.
Yousef boasted to a U.S. Secret Service agent that he would have combed a dozen planes within weeks had he not been discovered.

Investigators found detailed plans of the plot in a laptop computer re-covered from Youses's Manila apartment. Five bombers were to fly on 12 U.S. jumbo jetliners in the Far East, sllp bombs made using Casio digital watches under their seats, and disembark, with the bombs timed to explode when the planes were high over the Pacific en route to the West Coast.

Kallstrom, who is leading the inestigation of the TWA crash, would not discuss possible links between that disaster and Yousef's plot.

Yousef acted as his own lawyer during his trial, seemingly at ease with U.S. legal jargon. He told the hilippine and Pakistani authorities to curry favor with the United States. which was then hunting Yousef in

Kashmiris **Pressurized** To Vote'

Kenneth J. Cooper in Sringger

THE first day of voting to elect a ■ government for the disputed Indian state of Janunu and Kashmir saw voters turning out in greater numbers than they did for parliamentary elections four months ago, but evidence indicated that not everyone was going to the polls

Security forces were seen pressuring people to the polls, a tactic they employed during elections for the federal parliament in May. Reporters saw squads of army and paramilitary officers going from house to house in some localities, but they seemed to have acted less harshly and inspired less fear than they did during the May vote.

As they did four months ago, appointed state officials denied that security forces threatened to harm Kashmiris if they did not vote.

In some areas of the Himalayan state, riven by separatist violence for almost seven years, residents voted eagerly and in numbers that kept polling officers busy all day. State officials said the estimated turnout of between 50 and 53 percent showed genuine interest in the state's first elections for its own legislature since 1987. By comparison, 46 percent voted in May's Indian parliamentary election and an average of 68 percent cast ballots in Kashmir's

last four legislative elections.

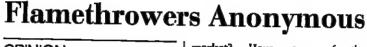
The voting, due to take place on four days, ending on September 30, is designed to end nine years of direct rule by the Indian government and restore democracy to the only majority-Muslim state in predominantly Hindu India. Most analysts predict the regional National Conference - led by Faroog Abdullah. who resigned as Kashmir's chief minister at the start of a separatist rebellion in 1990 - will form its

new government in early October. The elections have raised hopes among some voters of a restoration of peace, a grant of greater autonomy to the state and a new round of negotiations between India and Pakistau, which have gone to war | yard. twice since 1948 because of their onflicting claims to the territory.

India's security forces largely

Sability and dishuasco reports that sale completes and the security officers had forced people to vote as "militants' propaganda."

Sability and dishuasco reports that sale completes and the sale completes conflicting claims to the territory.



OPINION Ellen Goodman

TT IS Friday afternoon and the I traffic gods whizzing overhead in helicopters are warning of the bumper to bumper weekend exodus. I am crawling over the city line when a young man in an old Toyota cuts in front of me and, in the style for which Boston drivers have become famous, throws me the finger. Thank you and have a nice day.
I am somewhere near the New

Hampshire border doing penance for my early escape from the office by listening to talk radio. John from Boise is making his feelings about gay marriage as explicit as you can without using expletives. Paul from Bismarck or is it Carl from Potsdam is talking about the president and first lady in ways that do not reflect well on his upbringing.

So kind of you to call.

Halfway up the seacoast, my Thank God It's Friday Mood has darkened considerably. As I cross the Maine border, I push Patti Smith into my tape deck. But my internal track is playing a second tape entitled: What on Earth is Wrong

I am no double for Miss Manners. More than one unkind phrase has tripped off my tongue or fingertips. But if I am happy to be leaving civilization this late summer weekend, it may be because civility has

already departed.

Last night, exploring the vast mansion of the Internet, I wandered into several unfamiliar chat rooms. Some visitors were people who change nicknames more often than they do socks. These are people who checked their courtesy along with their identity at the door. A

What they have in common with the digit-wagging driver, with the talk-show callers is not just their aerobic exercise of the "freedom of speech" - a freedom that leaves even this First Amendment junkie grimacing — but they belong to the growing uncommunity of people who now act with the protection of

Would that driver have expressed his opinion if he thought I knew his National Conference because "it will | mother or his boss? Is the man from market? Have any of the flamethrowers singed someone under their own name?

The rap on America is that we live today in a disunited state where, in the near-cliché phrase of Robert Putnam, we even "bowl alone." There are fewer communities to which we belong these days, fewer places where we are known. At the same time, there are far more opportunities for being anonymous. We have become as unaccountable to each other, as unaccountable for vliat we say, as unnamed sources.

A few weeks ago, there was an uproar when Joe Klein was revealed as the anonymous author of a scathing satirical novel. His colleagues brutalized him for lying to them. But not a word was said abou his cowardice for flaming a pretdent without facing him.

These thoughts follow me one the ferry to one of the islands that dot this Maine coast. This floating community hall, where islander check on the cork bulletin bord and on each other's children, raverses the short haul and long say chic distance to a place where people wave to each other along the country roads. Not just because it is an island custom but because we know each other.

If I have learned anything in my 15 years here as a summer person it's the delicate ecology of island life where people are both away and to gether. It's the sense of community hat comes from independence and nutual dependence.

I have learned that civility - not always intimacy and rarely hostility sustains a community. That civility only rules when people under stand that they must abide each other and abide together.

I am no island rom main method of communication in here, I know teen-agers who long these chambers seems to be for a place where people do not remember their grandparents or their first grade report cards.

On a mainland of individualists it's no surprise that many value the liberation that comes from being unknown. No surprise that many change identities as if life were a masquerade ball, or as if there were an endless supply of fresh starts.

So, on a late summer weekend, I look back at the coast of America. From here, it seems as if the contentious, fractured story of this country is now being written by Bismarck equally nasty at his local | Americans Anonymous.

two Yuris in her stride. writes Kathy Sawyer F SHE'S wearing pink socks and making Jell-O for the boys,

hurtling around Earth with

Shannon Lucid takes

L it must be Sunday.

This is how U.S. astronaut Shannon Lucid keeps track of the weeks as they zip by at 17.000mph outside the orbiting home she has shared for five months with two Russian cosmonauts named Yuri.

"When light follows darkness every 45 minutes, it is important that I have simple ways of marking the passage of time," she e-mailed friends in Houston, "Every once in a while, Yuri will come up to me and say, 'Isn't today Sunday?' And I will say, 'No, it's not. No Jell-O tonight.'"

Lucid, 53, is hardly a space-going geisha. She holds a doctorate in biochemistry and is the most experienced astronaut of either sex in the NASA corps, with five space flights and several orbital records to her credit. A wife and mother of three who is said to be an indifferent cook at home, she is the first U.S. woman (and the second American) to fly aboard Russian Space Station Mir. a 136-ton facility somewhat resentbling a flying trailer park.

Since late March, when she floated aboard, she has shrugged off questions about male chauvinism or an East-West gender gap in orbit. Her credentials speak for themselves. But she has revealed glimpses of the joys and frustrations, smells and sounds of platonic cross-cultural domesticity in weightessness 250 miles above Earth.

A portrait of workaday life on her history-making flight — due to end later this month — emerges in her email messages supplied to The Washington Post, as well as occasional news conferences from Mir.

Now Lucid and "the two Yuris" have begun to pack for departure and their orbital camp has gotten more crowded. In a rocket-powered game of musical chairs, two replacement cosmonauts arrived at Mir last month on a Russian vehicle, along with a French female astronautscientist. The French woman and the two Yuris were due to depart for Earth last week, leaving Lucid on Mir with the two new cosmonauts. It's the same as "when your relatives come to visit," Lucki said, describing the cramped quarters.

She had expected a lift home aboard the space shuttle Atlantis by now. But technical concerns have delayed the launch by at least six weeks. She has already spent more time in space, and more on a single space mission, than any other American. On September 7, she surpassed the single-mission record of 169 days for women from any country. That honor was previously held by Russian cosmonaut Helena Kondakova, the only Russian woman who has made a long-duration flight on Mir. The issue of how the Russian

space program treats women arose in part because of comments by Yuri Glazkov, deputy director of the Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center in Star City, near Moscow. "We do not distinguish, professionally, between a man and a woman as an astronaut or a cosmonaut.... We don't have to expect that there are going to be curtains on the windows due to the fact that there is a woman on

Are Out of This World

Workaday Tales That

The crew members of the Space Shuttle Atlantis pose for their flight portrait. Shannon Lucid is in the centre of the top row

board," he said, speaking in Russian, at a Houston news conference before Lucid took the shuttle to Mir.

Then he added, "We auticipate that the fans will be taken care of in a more timely manner because we know women love to clean and they will take care of the fans in order to allow less dust in the environment." Glazkov later said he was misun-

derstood or mistranslated. The highstakes U.S.-Russian missions in part aim to test whether representatives of the two former Cold War enemies can find happiness together while confined in small spaces in outer space. Lucid's arrival at Mir began what NASA hopes will be a permanent astronaut presence in orbit. If all goes as planned, the two countries will lead the construction

of a new international space station in orbit next year and send people to Mars in the next century.

two Yuris have really treated her as an equal," said John Uri of Johnson Space Center in Houston, the lead cientist for the U.S.-Russian flights. They don't have as many women [in their space program] as we have. That's a difference in the cultures, I believe."

Lucid herself has expressed dismay at the fact that the early American astronauts were all men. After five months together, however, she, Commander Yuri Onufrienko, 35, and flight engineer Yuri Usachev. 38, get along "just real fine," Lucid has said repeatedly, in her mild Oklahoma twang. But she indicated that six months in space will have been plenty. Asked what she's learned about herself up there, she said, "My family would be surprised at the patience I've developed."

Somebody unnamed sent the pink socks into space with her as a surprise, she explained, and she

"decided to wear them on Sundays," As for the Jell-O, she just loves it. It is packaged in a standard NASA drink bag. "We just add hot water, put the bag in the refrigerator and have a great treat."

She lives in a module separate from the men, with her own toilet. "I do have all the privacy I need," she said. She tries to exercise at least once a day. In zero gravity, her foot calluses have disappeared. She washes her hair only every three days, instead of every day as she does on the ground, using NASA's standard "no-rinse" space shampoo.

She mentioned in a recent e-mail that whenever her comrades go out for a spacewalk, leaving Lucid all alone inside, "Yun puts a big piece of red tage across the communications controls I am absolutely not to touch." She said she would do the same thing if it were her spaceship and the roles were reversed.

Researchers on the ground expeet Lucid to return with 800 pounds of blomedical and other research samples, including crew blood and urine, quail eggs, protein crystals, photo studies of deforestation and other changes on Earth and related hardware and data.

stationed in war-torn China and grew up near Oklahoma City. As a graduate student, she said, "I fantasized about having my own laboratory." The one she got was "in none my fantasies." Last April she watched a long-awaited Russian escarch module, with American equipment installed for her experiments, "approach like a gigantic silver bullet moving in slow motion oward the station's heart" to dock

She yearned for certain luxuries is she watched the arrival of Progress, a Russian robot supply ship. 'All of a sudden, I really did teel I was in a cosmic outpost, anxiously awaiting supplies - and really hoping my family remembered to send me books and candy." They had.

Rebels Capitalize on Mexico's Pain

Molly Moore and John Ward Anderson in Huatuico, Mexico

ARIA del Rocio lives in a mud-and-stick hut two miles from a beachfront of multimillion-dollar resorts. Her three children sleep on palm leaves scattered on the bare dirt floor. Her husband earns \$33 a week as a truck driver - when he

can find work. Here amid some of Mexico's most poverty-stricken people, the government is creating its poshest new mega-resort, including the largest Club Med in the Western Hemisphere. And it was here also, where the Mexico of Maria del Rocio and that of the Club Med collide, that a new leftist guerrilla group-last month made its biggest

around the world. In all, 15 people across four Mexican states.

"People are sick of the corruption things are getting better when their lives are really getting worse," said 30-year-old Juan, who drives a taxi for tourists visiting the Huatulco beach resorts. "If the government doesn't start answering to the people, it will face a revolution. This is the reality of Mexico."

To listen to the government, Mex-

tion resorts and an economy that is slowly recapturing international in-terest after suffering its most severe crisis in 60 years. And officials have statistics to back up their claims.

At the same time, to drive the back roads of the nation's poorest regions, such as this Pacific Coast state of Oaxaca, is to see a Mexico mired in the last century, where rural Indians and peasants survive on a handful of beans and cornmeal each day and pay for makeshift huts without electricity, running water or sanitation. It is in the context of this seeming paradox that the new guerrilla movement sprang up, reflecting impatience among many Mexicans for their daily lives to catch up to the favorable economic statistics.

Almost three years ago, the free-Ten people were killed here, just | market and privatization policies put over a mile from the blue Pacific | in place by President Carlos Salinas | more dangerous than the mainly inshore that attracts tourists from | de Gortari had joited the economy into a boom performance, and the were killed in coordinated attacks | effects were just beginning to be felt by Mexicans on the bottom rung. Foreign investment had begun to and sick of the president saying create jobs, such as the hotel construction work in this resort 300 miles southeast of Mexico City.

But the growth process here and across Mexico was demolished by current president Ernesto Zedillo's botched peso devaluation on December 20, 1994 — 16 days after he succeeded Salinas. The devaluation, which made the country look

century with modern industry, vaca- | vestor confidence, leading to a flight of foreign capital that left the country unable to pay its bills and on the brink of default. The resulting inflation, unemployment and contracting economy hit Mexico's poorest citizens hard - the same ones who had been told repeatedly to place their

hopes in Salinas' market reforms. There are two very different Mexicos living side by side," said Mexico City economic and political analyst Jonathan Heath. "In one is the top 15 percent who have the purchasing power, then we have a assive, very-low-income, povertystricken population, mostly concen-

T IS THIS persistent rift that helped foment the People's Revolutionary Army. Many political leaders say they believe the group is digenous Zapatista rebels who waged a 12-day rebellion against the government in 1995 in the southern state of Chiapas - with the newcomers having more money, better weapons and a far wider reach.

"It's real and it's something to worry about," said Vicente Fox, governor of the state of Guanajuato and widely considered a future presidential candidate for the centerrightist National Action Party. "It's a clear expression of the frustration with the government," he said in an than 15,000 businesses went bankinterview. Zedillo "keeps talking | rupt, 2 million people were thrown ico is a nation leaping into the next insecure and unstable, wrecked in about macroeconomics and statis out of work and interest rates tacks in four states.

tics showing the economic prob-lems are over. That's not what we're seeing out in the street or what the people feel in their pockets."

That point was illustrated September 1, when Zedillo gave his second state of the nation address and highlighted Mexico's numerous imcovernents this year: Interest rates, nemployment and inflation are down; economic growth, exports and foreign currency reserves are up; and the peso is holding stable against the dollar. At the same time, the country paid back \$9 billion of a \$12.5 billion U.S. emergency loan and spent, or set aside, \$24 billion to support the nation's banking sys-

ern, which remains fragile.
"We think that Mexico is on the road to recovery and the U.S. is leased and so are international corporations and the people at the top, but is this reaching down to the middle class and improving their lives, or are they mired in stagnaresearch associate at the University of New Mexico's Latin America Institute. "The common people are feeling the pinch. The macro policies are succeeding, but they aren't making tortillas any cheaper or salaries any better.

For people on the street, the key problem is erosion of wages brought on by a 50 percent devaluation of the peso in late 1994 and 52 percent inflation in 1995, which has cut deeply into buying power. More

soared to 140 percent. For average Mexicans, "Their situation is much worse than it was two years ago, and they're angry at the government be cause this crisis was manufactured by the government" through its botched peso devaluation in Decem-ber 1994, said Nora Lustig, a senior

ellow at the Brookings Institution. "There's no way in the near future that they'll be compensated for the losses of '95, and that's why people are not sharing in the gov-ernment's optimism about the re-

"We're not asking for beautiful houses," said Felix Ramos Cabaleta, who runs a snack stand on an iso ated stretch of highway outside Huatulco. "We just want good jobs so we can support our families." Zapatista rebels have broken off peace talks with the Mexican government in a move that appeared designed to increase pressure on an administration grappling with the

group. The Zapatistas said in a letter to the government last week that they were halting the 16-month-long peace negotiation because of the "arrogance" of the government and accused it of using the new rebel uprising as an excuse to crack down on Zapatista supporters.

The Zapatistas - who have walked out of the slow-moving peace talks several times - also seemed to be trying to take advantage of the government's vulnerability in the aftermath of the synchronized at





Overturning the Soviet Revolution

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE: Forty Years That Shook the World, From Stalin to Yeltsin By Fred Coleman St. Martin's. 459pp. \$27.95

RED COLEMAN is a lucky man. He saw it all and missed nothing. His credentials are impeccable: He reported from Moscow between 1964 and 1995.

Two historic figures inspired Coleman to write The Decline And Fall Of The Soviet Empire: John Reed, the maverick American journalist who witnessed the birth of Russian communism in 1917; and Alexander Yakovlev, a former Soviet politburo member and an architect of Gorbachev's "perestroika."

To chronicle the demise of comnunism, Coleman, mindful of Reed's famous book Ten Days That Shook The World, subtitled his own n a similar manner but may have nade a mistake: Did 40 years of Soviet rule really shake the world? Would not stagnation, decay and eventual disintegration be perhaps more appropriate words to describe the communist performance after Stalin? True, Gorbachev's ascent to power made all the difference. It was during his tenure that the Soviet system underwent the most profound change. And this is when Yakovlev's advice to Coleman came in handy: He urged Coleman to look at the picture of post-communist development and perspective from a

In his interview with Coleman in hacks; on Brezhnev and his clique,



ILLUSTRATION- JEAN-FRANCOIS ALLAUS

1991, Boris Yeltsin said it was imposperpetuating unchallenged party sible "to combine things that cannot rule and their own privileges. be combined — to marry a hedgehog to a grass snake -- communism and a market economy." And this is precisely the message and the leitmotif of Coleman's book. In tracking

Democratic reforms and communism are incompatible, Coleman points out. And he is right. One of the principal reasons Boris Yeltsin's reforms are moving forward so down the origins of the communist slowly is that neither he nor his system — the brutality and duplicity closest advisors have jettisoned the of the founders of the Soviet state, Soviet ways of thinking and doing. the continuing power struggle in the Perhaps Coleman is too harsh on Kremlin — he focuses on the legacy feltsin, writing him off as a man of of totalitarian practices and totalitaryesterday. After all Yeltsin has ian mentality that has been harrowmade it again, winning the presiing Russia since Stalin's death; on Nikita Khrushchev, with his limited dency of Russia. destalinization, falling victim to party

But it is not Khrushchev, Brezhthe parrative. The towering figure is states that "the Soviet threat to

Mikhail Gorbachev, Coleman's hero, the man who "accomplished more than any other statesman in the world during the last half of the

twentieth century. For six years Coleman watched Gorbachev chart his course, maneuvering between what he hoped to achieve and what his hard-line opponents in the Kremlin would let him do. The account of his efforts to reform his country is the best part of the book. Now that Gorbachev's fortunes have slipped badly and his name is sinking into oblivion, Coleman reminds us that "each of the major reforms he ushered in was nothing short of miraculous at the time." In many ways Boris Yeltsin owes to Gorbachev his emergence as a national leader: Yeltsin took advantage of the former Soviet president's tolerance of political dissent.

Like any Westerner, even one experienced in Russian affairs, Coleman has retained some misconreptions about Soviet life.

He overestimates the power of the KGB and its heirs, which he says "even today . . . have a veto on Russia's future" and can "remove any military or political leader standing in [their] way." His assertion that KGB special troops crushed unarmed demonstrators in Tbilisi in 1989 is erroneous. It was the army of the North Caucasian Military District under the command of recently appointed Russian Defense Minister Igor Rodionov that charged into the crowd and beat many people to death. Occasionally Coleman repeats and connev or even Yeltsin who dominates tradicts himself. For example, he

America was imaginary" but three pages later says that "of course the Soviet threat was deadly serious." This book differs from many oth-

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

ers of the same genre because, among other things, it contains the author's detailed proposals on how the United States should respond to potential new Russian threats, Coleman believes that, "had U.S. diplomacy challenged the Soviets more boldly in the fifties and the sixties, communism could have collapsed decades earlier . . ." In effect, he suggests that "brinkmanship" is a preferred policy for the United States. In his opinion, oil and gas embargoes and all sorts of pressures short of war would make Russia behave the way the West wants, As a student of Russian history, Coleman should know that nothing could be further from the truth. Western influence has always been marginal in Russia, and it will most likely stay that way for a long time Suffice it to say that Castro's Cuba, no match for Russia, has not succumbed to U.S. economic black-

Coleman's mind-set inevitably leads him to another erroneous conclusion - that detente was a oneway street that facilitated Soviet designs on the world. On the contrary, more than anything else, detente paved the way to Russian reforms, for it opened new horizons for millions of oppressed people. And communism eventually collapsed under the burden of its own inefficiency, inhumanity and bluniers. The militancy of Coleman's suggestions on how to bolster the U.S. stance vis-à-vis "unruly" Russia overshadows some of his more sensible ideas and spoils the overall im-

Some Like It Cold

Donna Rifkind

THE FREQUENCY OF SOULS By Mary Kay Zurayleff Farrar Straus Glroux, 244pp. \$23

CAN A novel survive on quirks alone? Mary Kay Zuravieff's first book of fiction, The Frequency Of Souls, is an amiable comedy of manners distinguished by what amounts to a festival of eccentricities exhibited by its various characters as Zuravleff aspires to send comedic sparks flying from the unlikely subject of refrigeration engincers in Washington, D.C.

The novel's hero, George Mahoney, is a designer at the Coldpoint refrigerator plant in Rockville, Maryland, who is outfitted with the full regalia of the electrical engineer, from his clip-on tie to his gumsoled shoes. Thirty-nine years old and nurried to his college sweetheart, Judy, a "tightly laced" realestate broker, George has developed a mid-life crush on his co-worker, a 28-year-old woman named Niagara crudely homemade dresses, thick cycglasses and a hearing aid.

What attracts George to Niagara - aside from his libidinous observation that "everything that was held close on Judy's body was splayed and dangling on Niagara's"
— is her belief in the affinity between science and spirituality. She's using her job at Coldpoint to finance a bold idea: Having installed a satellite dish outside a trailer full of tubes and wires, she means to try to channel the dead through radio waves. George, "convinced that the uni-

logic," has always looked to science to provide only comfort and practicality. But after 14 years of designing icemakers, George is wondering if he hasn't gotten a little stale.

Side by side with this highninded flirtation is an equally spirited domestic comedy, which plays out in the Mahoneys' home. Here George and his two children are all chafing under the tight control of compulsively organized Judy --- particularly Harris, the Mahoneys' chubby, precocious 12-year-old son.

George is sympathetic toward Harris's resistance to Judy's campaign to curb the boy's weight, hav-ing himself suffered so tyrannical a mother that her death brought him profound relief. ("He felt as if a jagged rusty trap had finally re-leased his leg, a leg that the trap itself had somehow brought into existence.")

In truth, though, Judy's dictatorial efficiency does this family rather more good than harm, providing George, whom his wife has labeled a "textbook passive-passive," with a ho is six feet tall and wears | degree of physical and emotional comfort which he is mightily reluctant to surrender: "It occurred to [George] that being married was like owning all your favorite songs. They were so familiar that you often

forgot to play, let alone enjoy, them." What is one to make of this sweet-natured, wacky book? It is too engaging and full of promise to be dismissed as just one more wavelet in the ceaseless tide of new fiction. Yes, it's ultimately a superficial, even a frivolous effort but who's to say there isn't a place for the light-George, "convinced that the universe was soldered together with brisk and bracing as this?

True Confessions of the Supreme Being

James Morrow

THE LIFE OF GOD (AS TOLD BY HIMSELF) By Franco Ferrucci Translated from the Italian by Raymond Rosenthal and Franco Ferrucci University of Chicago Press. 283pp. \$22

OD'S only excuse is that he does not exist," wrote Stendnal, but now Franco Ferrucci has provided the Supreme Being with mother sort of alibi.

When The Life Of God (As Told By Himself) arrived in my mailbox, imagined I was about to experience a literary non sequitur, a firstperson novel by an omniscient narrator. Ferrucci's God, however. is neither all-knowing nor allpowerful: not exactly the "underachiever" posited by Woody Allen in Love And Death, more a poet whose funcies keep springing into palpable form. The poet wants no truck with

> The Life Of God gives us a decidedly existential deity, an "atheistic God" in search of himself, a goal he hopes to achieve by writing his autobiography. As the results unfold. this protean person — not so much the God of the philosophers as a philosopher who happens to be God - roams through the centuries like a benign vampire, melding with a succession of historical bystanders,

the better to salve his solitude. Our hero impresses nearly everyone he meets, a stellar cast that includes Xenophanes, Seneca,

grand device, the sort of mad | returns to confront the Grand Inartistic scheme that allows an autences as "I told myself that when he awoke Freud would be mortified at the thought of having peed on himself in the presence of God."

The Life Of God is ill served by

its title. The label that underscores the novel's lamest aspect - its relentless whimsicality, its insistent archness.

The coyness is particularly prominent in chapter one, which chronicles the cosmos prior to the arrival of Homo sapiens. While the language is evocative, this first section partakes more of fable than epiphany Ferrucci's God is not a very good scientist - I noticed him confusing apes with monkeys, and placing meteorites in deep space, among other errors — but he's a terrific writer: "When the storm finally weakened, I saw a placid crimson sunset, and my creation had the languorous beauty of a face after a fit of weeping." The multiplicity of such passages sub-

dued any urge to skim Ferrucci's opening gambit is also admirable for its irreverence. By treating our culture's central myth as a kind of Aesop's miniseries or Kipling Just So story, the author achieves a caliber of iconoclasm that rivals the more aggressive blasphemies of Mark Twain's Letters From The Earth or Joseph Heller's God Knows.

In chapters two and three, Ferrucci hits his stride. The joke starts nary after another, the novel repeatedly evokes one of the greatest Columbus, Shakespeare, Dante, scenes in all literature: the "poem" might easily have lost the healing Galileo, Einstein and Mussolini. It's by Ivan Karamazov in which Christ sweetness that constitutes its core.

quisitor. Dostoyevsky's Inquisitor thor to write such uncommon sen- you may recall, had no use for the Catholic Church's founder, and Ferrucci's assorted celebrities are similarly disinclined to solicit God's opinions. The Supreme Being futilely questions Moses's obsession with rules and tries in vain to key Augustine's conversion to an appropriate biblical passage.

The deity who emerges here is one for whom the great religious controversies simply don't matter. In these gently subversive passages Moses's alleged intimacy with God, Jesus's ostensible powers of salvation, and Buddha's presumed enlightenment emerge as wholly luman constructs.

Ferrucci is at his wry best in the final chapter, where, instead of incorporating a person, the deity fuses with the pages of Moby Dick, inevitably becoming the whale himself. For mere mortals, such a stunt would be dangerous, but our hero As he puts it, "Only God and silver fish can safely get inside books."

It should be clear by now that The Life Of God is essentially an elaborate conceit. Reading it is like watching a virtuoso violinist play a concerto on an instrument containing a single, mile-long string. The variations he rings are astonishing. his athleticism is breathtaking, but it

still remains a one-note performance. And yet I would not have it otherwise. If Ferrucci had added another working. As God tilts with one lumi- atring to his fiddle — if he had given his novel a plot, say, or gone into the heads of other characters — he might easily have lost the healing 8

Class war that yields no benefits

Larry Elliott on the economic effect of shackling trade unions

HOSE of us who dislike Man-chester United winning every-thing in football all the time should take some lessons from the way the Government has handled the unions these past 18 years.

The first thing to do is insist that United are not allowed any foreign players; then that a member of the Manchester City fan club should referee their games. So, it will continue, season by season, until United have to play both halves up a one-in-four slope at a redesigned Old Trafford and pay a fine every time they commit a foul.

After 10 years, when the fans have lost heart, those of us who support other clubs can suggest United have no future as a team but might prosper if they sell replica kits. This process will be familiar to

trade unions, and it's easy to see why it has met with such thunderous applause on the right. The attack on the trade unions - through deflationary economic policies and relentless legislation - has been class warfare at its crudest. Why bits of the the left should also be parroting such reactionary twaddle

is more puzzling.

The fact is that the shackling of the unions is up there with the Falklands war as one of the achievements of four terms of Conservative government. Indeed, it was where Mrs Thatcher's thirst for a return to Victorian values was fully slaked.

Ministers argue that the tough approach has worked, because turning the clock back has improved the climate of industrial relations. boosted productivity, and brought about a sea change in pay bargaining.

The right insists breaking the power of organised labour has been good for workers as well, if they would but admit it. Unions act more responsibly, are more in touch with

N THE heart of the City, on the

Broad Street, there is a big hole in

the ground surrounded by blue

boarding. It is the site for the new

London headquarters of Morgan

After last week's events at the

German-owned investment bank's

asset management division, it

seems sure that a few of the biggest

egos in the Square Mile will be buried in the foundations.

Alleged irregularities in three

unit trust investment funds have

caused rather more than inconve-

nience to 90,000 investors who

industry has suffered important

After a three-day suspension.

trading in the stricken funds re-

sumed last Thursday, but having

read tales that suspended fund man-

ager Peter Young had been betting

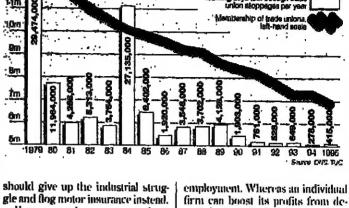
huge portions of investors' cash on high-risk technology and drug

stocks, investors accounting for 8 per cent of the three funds with-

drew their cash. A bloody and con- small, young companies.

atructural damage.

Paul Murphy



However, unions appear to be a

one-off case when it comes to the implementation of Victorian values. No minister has yet suggested a return to 19th century surgery, dentistry or sanitation. Nor has any member of the Government been brave enough to claim that it would boost competitiveness to deprive women of the vote.

Yet a muster-servant approach to ndustrial relations is deemed a good thing, even if it means employers can flout health and safety regulations and sack staff with impunity to prevent them from qualifying for statutory employment rights.

south Asia or eastern Europe.

waged against the unions has deliv-This reduces demand for labour.

Trade unions

Even such bastions of laissez-faire

thinking as the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development now agree that this is not the way forward. given that the West is never going to compete in terms of wage costs with The evidence that the campaign

ered the economic benefits claimed is tenuous. The argument is that unions distort supply and demand in the labour market by pushing up wages and reducing investment. Nice theory, but after 18 years we

Red faces at pillar of City establishment

arrogance. As Deutsche has fur-

thered its stated intention of turning Morgan into the hub of a global, all-

powerful securities business, some of the most talented individuals in

high finance have been tempted

Nestling in this top drawer was

Mr Young, a bright 38-year-old who

seems to have impressed just about everyone he met. He had taken over

stricken funds in May 1994 from

John Armitage, who had been spec-tacularly successful. Mr Young had

no intention of letting things slip.

biggest fund, the European Growth

Trust, and it retained its ranking

close to the top of the investment

league tables until the later part of

Then, at the beginning of this

becoming clear, the fund manager

agement of two of the three

nued to pour into the

through its doors.

last year.

unionisation and holding down wages, the benefits to the economy at an aggregate level are more difficult to discern. The side-effects of the decline in union influence have been widening income inequalities, rising poverty and job insecurity, which have had detrimental effects on growth, the balance of payments and public finances.

Anologists for the new would argue that this attack on labour is warranted, because it should lead to a fall in the share of national income taken by wages, and a rise in the share for investment. The story of the past 18 years is quite different. Wages as a share of gross domestic product have fallen, but all this has meant is that dividends have gone through the roof.

The Government seems proud of this, impervious to the notion that the future for Britain is a decently paid, highly productive, secure workforce. But plans for further curbs on unions would be a bridge too far. Back in the 1970s, union bosses

in unquoted companies, the fund

manager's bosses instructed him to

reduce his exposure to such high-

At this stage, Morgan Grenfell now alleges, Mr Young is said to have set up a new batch of Luxem-

bourg companies and hid his sus-

pect investments deeper. It was only

in the third week of August when

the Securities and Futures Author-

ity, one of the front-line City regula-

tors that had been investigating the

stockbroker which Mr Young used

for his Luxembourg dealings, raised

the alarm that Morgan Grenfell

Deutsche Morgan Grenfell an-

nounced this week it planned a

multi-million-dollar compensation

programme for investors in the

three unit trusts it was forced to sus-

lion for compensation, and those

risk companies.

earnest.

year, the fund's position in the league tables plummeted. As is now could face a bill of about \$150 mil-

had previously achieved such a stunning performance by backing payments will be investors who bought into the funds earlier this

were the satirists' target; no longer. If popular culture says anything about the political mood, the public thinks the villains are now the bosses. Union membership may have fallen to below 8 million, but still seem to be waiting for the higher investment and the lower un- lieves there is a hidden pool of po- the same."

by Deutsche Bank, Germany's largest, the London investment bank has exuded a special sort of trustees, General Accident, beginning to ask a few awkward questions about the size of investments

tential recruits - perhaps several million - reluctant to join for fear of

Nor is it true that the days of industrial action are over. The number of days lost through strikes has fallen sharply over the past 18 years (as the graph shows), but in the first half of this year, there were yes votes in 81 per cent of ballots. Unions have been using the votes to good effect. Following a successful ballot, two out of three disputes were settled without recourse to industrial action.

So, where now? The trend in industry during the 1990s has been for firms to concentrate on their core business — unions should do the same. If unions can't deliver on bread and butter issues - pay and working conditions — will members think it likely they can beat Direct Line when it comes to car insurance.

Two things will help in this respect. Inflation is weak, which should allow monetary policy to be expansionary — good for employ ment and union recruitment.

The other factor is the prospect of a Labour government. Tony Blair has said that there will be no favours to the unions, but in power he will need the unions as much as they need him. The TUC believes it can expect a minimum wage, the Social Chapter, the right to recogni tion, and protection against dismissal during a legal dispute.

It would like more, such as instant employment protection against unfair dismissal and greater freedom to prosecute disputes against companies that divide them selves up to prevent secondary action, but John Monks, TUC general secretary, says Labour's four com-

Let's hope so. Some on the left think unions are no longer needed these days but they are fuzzy about what the benefits are to workers. Simple. In the days the boss would say "You're fired", you would fetch the shop steward. In the deunionised "us-and-us boss" world of the future the boss says: "I under-

Young: high risk strategy

viewed in fine detail.

inevitable.

managers across the City can nov

expect their portfolios to be re-

Imro, the watchdog that monitors

the funds industry, has already said

it will be reviewing its own rulebook

and supervisory procedures. A

clampdown on what many profes-sionals in the past shrugged off as

"technical" breaches of the rules is

As for the whole system of "self-

regulation" in the City, the Morgan

In Brief

A WAVE of panic selling hit Olivetti, Italy's troubled computer and office equipment group, driving its price down to an historic low. Shares closed on Monday 19.5 per cent down at 603 lire. It followed a week of uphenval during which chairman Carlo De Benedetti resigned. An investigation has been opened into insider share dealing.

APAN'S current account surplus shrank over the 12 months to July by \$5.21 billion, or 27.3 per cent.

U NEMPLOYMENT in the United States sank to its lowest level for seven years in August, dropping to 5.1 per cent from 5.4 per cent in July.

G ERMANY underlined the economic divergence with France, its key partner in the drive to create a single European currency, by disclosing a 1.5 per cent spurt in second-quarter growth — contrasting with a 0.4 per cent fall across the Rhine

B RITISH Airways is considering cuts in service and staff to reduce costs by \$1.5 billion over the next five years.

ROW has broken out in A Jersey over legislation which would give accountancy partnerships limited-liability status and protect them from having to make huge compensation payments to unhappy clients

UROTUNNEL is expected to announce a restructuring of ita \$13.5 billion debt in a deal likely to give 225 banks between

ONRHO has postponed the Sibillion flotation of ita Princess Metropole hotels division after receiving several approaches for the business.

B IDDERS for new private rail franchises have been given confidential data on the vast surpluses in the British Rail pension fund to aid the speedy sell-off of the UK rail network.

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voluted post-mortem at one of the City's premier firms is under way.

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A dynamite story in the bushveld

Jav Griffiths finds an explosives factory bang in the middle of a South African nature reserve

■ ILDEBEEST career around the Mankwe nature reserve with a mighty stomp and springboks' prancing leaves prints in the dust. The impact of man's footsteps, though, in this arid corner of South Africa is the lightest of treads.

Dougal MacTavish, who manages the 9,000-acre site in the North West Province for the owners, ICI, walks softly through the bushveld. He reads the landscape and tracks animals from their spoor or their dung.

A giraffe lones by. Rare white riti nos waddle into the bush, and lappet-faced vultures, able to peck through inch-and-a-half-thick rhino skin, shake a tail feather in the dry scrub of the wait-a-bit thorn.

MacThvish walks with his "right lund man," Buti Phalatsi, a black South African, who has spent years working in national parks. The two can identify animals by species, sex and age at vast distances. Something flickers across the horizon, so far and so quickly you miss it altogether. Dougal has it; it's a female warthog with four bables, he says. Only one of those babies will survive, he adds. Why? "Because only one of her nipples is working property." (And it happens exactly as he predicts.)



LLEN MALEPHOI SEBETSO

would like to make a lot of noise

partment of Labour official, but his

with her unipicenth case of

in question. The official is an ap-

"Under apartheid," says Schetso,

people enforcing hundreds of laws.

their workers' rights, no one seems

The Native Land Acts of 1913 and

able to act."

pointee of the previous regime.

on the phone to a South African De- tion", have produced a disastrous

lunch-break seems to have been ex- | farmers. "They are just piling whole

tended indefinitely. Sebetso is a families into their trucks, and dump-

para-legal working in the advice of ing them by the side of the road,"

tion, the Huhudi Civic; she is to Mandela. Ask him for money."

aged 29, "there were thousands of own the land they currently occupy, people enforcing hundreds of laws.

The Land Reform (Labour Ten-

Mankwe is not like other nature reserves. It is bordered by a guarded, electrified perimeter fence and in the heart of the reserve is one of ICI's largest explosive plants. Night and day the sound of detonators competes with the grunt of

It is law that a large buffer area must surround such a site, and to an extent, ICI is making an environmental PR virtue of a legal necessity. But the spirit of Mankwe is largely the product not of boardroom decisions but of two "ecosubversives". One is MacTavish. who devotes much of his spare time na well as his working life to the site; the other is ICI's ex-company ecologist, Ken Smith.

But how do MacTavish and Smith square the fact that for all that David Altenborough endorses the site, and the extraordinary sensitivity, skill and commitment of those who work on site, the nature reserve stands cheek by jowl with a factory producing explosives for mining whose client list includes RTZ, infamous for the manner of its mining across the world?

Ken Smith argues that the consumer demands it. "I've never met anyone in the world, not the greenest of the greens, who doesn't use one of our products. Merely by being on Earth, man has an impact and if we want knives and forks and catalytic converters and roads, we have to have industries like ICI. The I point is you've got to try to do it

> impact." He, speaks with sincerity of the

up a site database of birds and mammals. from the dung beetle to the rarest endangered creature,

white farmers own 80 per cent of | paid for it with their sweat. As daily

In Vryburg, the small lown where | the market price. But at least the

that will give around 40,000 farm | land it was forcibly removed from in

workers who occupy land in ex- the sixties, courtesy of the 1994

Toolo of the Farmworkers Research | trator of the Huhadi Civic, says

need for such compensation. Many as people compete for the land. "We

and Resource Project, questions the there is a real possibility of violence

The fight for land goes on over the rainbow

the farmland. Actions taken so far

by the new Department of Land Af-

fairs, simed at "a just land dispensa-

counter-reaction from the white

ice of a community-based organisa- | says Sebetso. "The farmers say: Go | of Land Affairs buys land to resettle

evicted farm workers and wants the | Sebetso works, farmers are trying | community of Dithakawaneng.

official to intervene with the farmer to circumvent pending legislation 17km from Vryburg, is back on the

change for their labour rights to

Now, when we need the authorities ants) Bill provides for compensation nity is much bigger than it was in to make these farmers stop abusing to be paid to white farmers. Hilton the sixties. Collen Colane, adminis-

1936 removed all but 13.7 per cent | labour tenants are descendants of | thought the struggle was over,"

of South Africa's land from African | the original owners of the land, he | says Colane ruefully, "We're discou-

ownership. Now around 60,000 says, and they feel they have already ering it's only just beginning."



as destructive and nasty as a mainmai can be and there are some 800 on site: the human being.

Signs on the electric fence read "Trespassers Will Be Prosecuted" in three languages. The site security are armed and carry out target prac-

Their chief enemy is the professional poacher armed with guns and the cruellest of spares. "White South Africans," says

MacTavish, a white Zimbabwean, would shoot at animals just for fun because half of them are complete idiots. Black South Africans shoot for food. If someone's hungry, and they shot an animal to eat themselves, what is it to us? I wouldn't have hard feelings. But there's no one here starving - it's done for commercial gain.

Apart from poaching, there are legal reasons for fencing the site but the effect of the security is to highlight one of the most acute dilemmas of nature conservation. Is it axiomatic that unless man makes a all the reserve's profit out of nature he will destroy it? Is humanity the ineluctable enemy of animals?

From Mankwe, a nature reserve the size of 9,000 football pitches, the view is an African Eden. But what is careful and exact, the view like across the fence, from but one manimal is | the nearby grid-patterned and submissing. It is as fas- urban township of Mogwase? "I only cinating and playful. | know the fence," says the first per-

evictions swell the squatter area of

Huhudi, Sebetso says angrily:

isn't the government taking any ac-

tion to stop these farmers?"

There's no democracy here. Why

in its dying days, says Toolo, the

apartheid regime privatised huge

tracts of land; when the Department

dispossessed people, it has to pay

Restitution of Land Rights Act.

But there are problems, There's

no infrastructure and the commu-

son you talk to. And the second. And the third.

Julia, a local teacher, says, "When foreign companies come, they bring things which don't benefit us. When they're making a reserve, there's no link to people living around their companies. We have these big conpanies here, and they are very near. but, oh, they are very far from us."

Mankwe seems an off-ground place, linked more closely to other ICI sites in Teesside or Brazil than to its closest geographical neighbours. The factory is dislocated in time, too, for it does not run in sync with day and night, but is staffed to run 24 hours per day, in perpetual production for the sake of international market-time efficiency.

HIS dislocation of company to locality is part of a worklwide apartheid. ICI was up and running in South Africa long before apartheld laws were repealed, paying its dues and its due respects to prop up the apartheid regime. This worldwide apartheid is very much with us: the international rich versus the local poor; the economic colonialists, the invisible electric fences of educational opportunity and the security versus the ordinary, the local, the indigenous and the landless.

MacTavish's vision is to see that while practicalities demand that he

newly established Land Claims

South Africa's experienced grass-

roots leadership drawn off into par-

iament or the civil aervice, he is the

sort of organiser communities des-

"We're fighting to get our land back," says Boeboe, "and without

community-based organisations the

fight will die away." The map on the

wall of his sparse office in Steinkopf

- a "coloured reserve" 70km south

of the Namibian border - shows

land ownership in Namaqualand.

It's an area twice the size of the

Netherlands, yet on Boeboe's map

the farms look like the squares of a

board-game, "We've got these two

back, because they were state

land," he says, pointing to two vast spreads on the Orange river. "Now

we're negotiating to get this one from De Beers."

perately need.

repairs and strengthens the physifind ways of busting the metapho fence. When he took on the land, in 1988: "No one was allowed in M one. I wanted that to change I could be turned into a research sit plus there's a huge demand for the cation on subjects like this."

One of the greatest problem facing the new government is South Africa is the settling of bol claims. There are no land claims of the Mankwe site, says Pretorial Department of Land Affairs, nor there a shortage of land in the area Ecology experts say the best lad use for this arid terrain is game farming such as MacTavish running. His aim is "to make it pro duce on a sustainable bask, is terms of environment and in term

MacTavish insists: "I would lie this place to be here for all time in respective of local politics. But M now, we are doing our best with the parameters we have."

While it seems invidious to 9 gest that people look after name only when it makes financial seast. t is by understanding nature the the relationship between man ## nature can be mutually beneficial To ICI, nature's profits comes in rands, but to others the profits ca come in educational and ext

Boeboe van Wyk spends much of monds, Consolidated Goldfields # his life hurtling round the dirt roads copper. Getting people settled of Namaqualand in the Northern land they know how to farm is the Cape, helping small communities organise their submissions to the only way to relieve joblessness at Commission. With so much of

many of the people Boeboe works with used to own rich, greet along the Orange river. They settled there by the Cape colors government in the 19th century drove them off their land. Gnarled survivors of that terri

time lined a Cape Town street of lier this year, when the Queen wited South Africa. One old has placard told her: "Queen Elizabeth you broke your great great mother's oath to the Namaqua ple." The publicity was enoug get the British consul 600km up motorway from Cape Town to Ca spreads on the Orange river. "Now we're negotiating to get this one from De Beers."

Namaqualand's only industry is only way to get things done.

Where words simply rush in

David Hearst on how Moscow is reeling from a verbal invasion

DID not need a dictionary for my first brush with Russian authorities. I was trying to navi gate Moscow's unfathomably obscure road system, where drivers have to perform compilcated pirouettes should they be so foolbardy as to want to turn

Cars with foreign number plates were a lucrative source of income for a small army of traftic police — wolves as the Russians call them — who stood by the roadside preying on drivers like medieval robber barons. I was observed hesital ing and was pulled over.

The conversation was conducted in single words. "Straff" (fine) he said. This was not Russian but German. When I got out my roubles, the wolf shook his head: "Baksy" (bucks or dollars). "Bon voyage," he said wav ing me on my way, \$20 lighter.

As I later discovered, all these foreign words were in common Russian usage, the relics of waves of invasions of language dating back from Peter the Great. That great shipbuilder im ported Dutch uaval vocabulary an well as German military

Even Afexander Pushkin, that great defender of the Russian language, wrote most of his letters in French.

As Pushkin's great friend Alexander Griboyedov obscrved the language spoken by the Russian nobility was a frightful mixture of French and Lower Novgorod. Russia's revolution aries were no better at preserving their language, casting its peasant notions aside for such great concepts as "revolutaia" 'socializm" and "tredunionis

So it should really come as little surprise to learn that when Borts Yeltsin once again opened Russia's doors and windows to Western influence in 1991, some 10,000 English words flew in. The latest edition of the Concise Oxford Russian

Dictionary contains such geme as "politicheskaya korrektnost" (political correctness) of which there is none, "golfist" (golfer) and "akejtbord" (akateboard) of which there are some, and "raketeer" of which there are

The bewildered linguists of the Institute of Russian Language are trying to stein the flood of English words. English has been a real predator of Russian culture, sweeping in on the back of the free market. One "new" Russian can now say to another: ^rpoyedem v casino, na lunch, tam kharoshee security" (let us go to the bar for lunch, it's got

good security there). As they chew their "riggliz speeratyent, double djuce end doublemint", today's new Russian high-fliers are somewhat less elegant in their aban-donment of their native culture As Yelena Bonner, the wife of Andrei Sakharov and an eternal dissident, once said: "Democracy? It's more like dermocracy [shitocracy]".



Community care's front line

tol's impoverished estates and

streets a stone's throw from the af-

luent city centre, it assesses those

with serious disorders, liaises with

and advises doctors and health cen-

tres, voluntary agencies, police and

hospitals. It has between 350 and

suffering mostly from schizophre-

That is about 1.5 people in every

,000. Although mental illness

crosses social boundaries, there is a

wealth of evidence — all too obvious

tween poverty, deprivation and un-

employment and psychiatric

The inner city also has a large

roportion of homeless people suf-

fering from mental illness — people

who can be difficult to engage in

seven out of every eight people ad-mitted to acute psychiatric hospital

beds in the city. Those in the team

say resources have never matched

the scale of the problem. As with

most parts of Britain, the closure of

in hospital beds have not been ac-

companied by funds to set up equiv-

The nine community psychlatric

nurses each care for an average of

27 patients — about six will be prior-

ity cases, needing at least weekly visits to administer drugs or to check on their health and welfare.

But the area has no acute day-care

centre, lacks properly staffed hos-

tels and has too few supported

plent community services.

in Bristol's inner city - of links be-

nia, mania or depression.

Mental illness may cross social boundaries, but most cases in Bristol come from the impoverished inner city area. Heather Mills meets the team that has to cope

ECENTY.) Martin took a hammer to the head of a fellow resident in their Bristol hostel. Martin suffers from schiæ⊢ phrenia, and until the attack was looked after under the "care in the community" programme. No one saw the attack coming. In fact, only three hours earlier Martin had been seen by a social worker who found no cause for concern - sometimes "difficult", he had no history of vio-

But in one psychotic moment Martin joined those whom Bristol's Inner City Mental Health team view as dangerous. One more blow and there would have been calls for an inquiry into another "care in the community" tragedy.

As it is, the police and the health vorkers who look after him are investigating. Martin has been committed to a psychiatric hospital under the Mental Health Act and is likely to face criminal charges. John and Martin are a small mi-

care and hard to monitor. And it has a large black population which, for nority in the team's huge workload, but these are the cases that take up reasons so far unexplained, suffers high levels of schizophrenia. Suspian inordinate amount of time and cion points at cultural and environ cause most anxiety for the health and social workers whose job it is to mental influence — the higher rates enable them to live in society. are not mirrored in the Caribbean, The vast majority are vulnerable, for examp Bristol's inner city accounts for

threat to no one but themselves. Take Charlotte, a descendant of a famous Victorian poet, whose anxieties often cause her to wander the streets. Or Peter, taken hosinge by crack dealers who trashed his flat, stole his belongings, and so exacerbated his mental illness that forced him back into hospital. For thousands such as these,

acute mental illness is a devastating. uphill struggle. No one can give them a cause for the spectrum of symptoms — bizarre thoughts, hearing voices, paranois, delusion - that characterise schizophrenia, manic depression or psychosis. The prognosis is often bleak and they are likely to be on powerful anti-psychotic drugs, which can have unstiffness and shoking.

I for the dangerous. Last month Dr David Mumford, a consultant psychlatrist and clinical leader of the inner-city team, wasted a day scouring the country for a secure hed, The inner-city health team eventually finding one in London, mix of health and social workers, miles from the patient's family. psychiatrists, therapists and a psy-Dr Mumford says he and his chologist — is responsible for Bris-

colleagues, nurses and social workers, are increasingly seen by patients and public as agents of social The Government's response to

the community care tragedics, he says, has been to impose stricter rules and greater responsibility on 400 acutely ill people on its books the front-line workers — such as the introduction of an "at risk" register none of it accompanied by any resources or legal powers. "Passing the blante downwards distances Government and Cabinet from responsibility," Dr Muniford says.

The problems are now being recognised, to a limited extent, by the Government and the local health trust. The inner-city team has been awarded an extra £350,000 a vear — almost double present fund ing. That will not provide the much needed acute day centre, but it will allow recruitment of more staff and a seven-days-a-week service.

S PRINCE DRUMMIE, who used to jam with Bob Mar-ley in his native Jamaica, said: "I need somewhere I can go or someone I can see at whatever time of the day or night. I don't have no family I can call if I start feeling stressful." Because no one has been around

when he needed help, Prince — like so many other mentally fil - has ended up in police cells. But it is not all tragedy within the

city team. Despite their enormous responsibilities and workload, their efforts do keep many people out of nospital, lail and worse.

Prince Drummie is still recording with local bands. Kate, a young mother with a history of arson, has been reunited with her daughter. She is full of praise for the doctors and social workers who have helped her rebuild her life. Steve, who has made several attempts on his life. pleasant side-effects, such as housing schemes. Crucially, it also has found art therapy helps him to often lacks access to secure beds | work out his anger and emotions.

What everyone -- sufferers, docors and health workers — agree is that the advantages of care in the community, when properly resourced, do outweigh life in an institution. "It may be that for some people care in the community is interspersed with periods in hospital — the aim is to keep the periods in hospital to a minimum and of short duration," says Dr Mumford.

"But without adequate hospital beds and resources we are in danger of coming full circle — a return to the poorly staffed, privately rur nomes for some, with others left on the streets, that led to the Victorian asylums in the first place."

HE Royal College of Psychiatrists - a body not given to scareniongering — has warned that mental health services for those with severe and acute illnesses are in danger of collapse. The warning followed a series of killings by the mentally ill which have all but destroyed public confidence in community care.
Although associated with the

controversial healthcare reforms of the 1980s, cure in the community has its roots in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Enoch Powell, then Conservative Minister of Health. questioned the inhumane treatment n overcrowded asylums and called for most of the "isolated, majestic, imperious and daunting" buildings to be torched, introduced as antipsychotic drugs were developed to control symptoms, his closure pro gramme initially ran smoothly.

But the Government saw community care as a cheap option and, as hard-pressed hospitals began closing psychiatric beds in the 1980s, cracks appeared. Closures were not being matched by provision in the community, extra funding for mental health was spent on other services, and rising levels of unemployment and urban deprivation

welled the numbers of mentally ill. As a result, acute psychiatric beds, designed to take patients for short-term treatment, are increasingly used for long-term care, eaving a huge shortfall.

Mr l'owell accepted in 1961 that long-term secure beds would be recured "for a minority of patients". But only in recent months has the Government acknowledged the need for 24-hour care for those who лизу, on occasion, "be a danger to themselves and others".

In recognition of the crisis, ministers have promised an extra £95 mlllion for mental health services. But by the Government's own estimates the funding is woefully inadequate.

The Department of Health, meanwhile, is considering introducing a new statutory body to combine health and social services for the mentally ill - further distancing itself from the crisis and blaming a lack of co-ordination by front-line workers for the problems.

Services for the seriously mentally ill remain stretched to the limit. Those with less severe problems must rely on GPs and counsellors. One in 10 psychiatric posts remains unfilled and trained nurses and so cial workers are leaving inner-city

Dr Michael Shooter, deputy registrar of the Royal College of Psychiatrists, said: "We are in a precarious and potentially dangerous situation. That is not to say we do not agree with community care. We are very much in favour of it. It just needs to be properly resourced, so that peosafely with sufficient in-patient beds for when people need them." - The



GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Erlend Clouston

PATRIOTIC pulses beat a little faster in Scotland last

week as the vital organ of a na-

pearance on a laboratory table.

Under the glare of television

spotlights, the heart of Robert

the Bruce, which spent much of

the early 14th century eluding

English broadswords, surren-

dered tamely to the respectful

hacksaws of Historic Scotland

witnessed anxiously by the Chief

heart-sized container at Melrose

As Bruce, Scotland's monarch

from 1306 to 1329, is the only

man known to have been grant

century abbey, the assumption

is that the battered, off-brown

a coronary crypt at the 12th

canister belongs to him.

Good taste and hygiene

restrained Historic Scotland

shroud in which the lump of

mummified muscle is encased.

The victor of Bannockburn

gloves and face masks to extract what looked like a 12in high

medieval traffic cone from the

official biscuit tin in which an

carlier excavation team had

rehoused the relic in 1921.

There was momentary excitement when the initial

fibrescope examination revealed

the presence of a folded piece of

treasure hunt clue, were dashed

when it turned out to contain a

The half-expected rediscov-ery has been a mixed blessing

white parchment. Hopes that

this might be a message from

beyond the grave, or even a

copper calling card from the Ministry of Works.

died from leprosy, or possibly

carpenters donned overalls.

syphilis, so the archaeo-

staff from penetrating the leaden

conservators.
The 160-minute operation

Inspector of Ancient Monus

Abbey in the Borders.

followed the discovery of a

tional hero made a veiled ap-

Robert the Bruce surrenders his heart

Desert foxes

ATCHING the sun filter through the palm fronds able suspicion among the villages. on a spring afternoon, I sip strong sweet tea and take in the vista: fields of wheat and clover in the shadow of the temple, all dominated by the desert mountains a few hundred metres away.

rupted by our neighbour, Hag Ahmed, who wants my opinion on everyone into the desert?

rlarch before I can answer, "No one

Like everyone else on Luxor's West Bank, once the necropolis of purpose-built village in the desert.

The official reason for the move is that the antiquities are being dample. In some handets of Gurna houses are built directly over ancient tombs and the villagers are known in the popular Cairene imagination as the descendants of ancient tomb robbers.

But in our village, Kom Lolah here are no tombs. Most of the touses stand near the mortuary temple of Ramses III, Medinal Ahmed and his neighbours, most of whom are members of his extended simply want them out of the way so

And they are adamant about staying put. "How am I going to reach my fields if I'm living out in the desert?" asked Umm Muhammed, a cousin of Hag Ahmed. "Who's going to help me carry back the clover to

Rumours of the impending move have been circulating in Kom Lolah for months. A year or so ago earnest young graduates from Cairo went from door to door taking the dimensions of each dwelling and asking

people to describe their ideal house. Then several hundred two-room

lives — sitting back and waiting. This strategy proved effective in the past. Attempts to move Gurna

away from the tombs started in the forties, when Egypt's most famous architect, Hassan Fathi, built New Gurna. Although it was internationally recognised as an architectural masterpiece, the Gurnawis were not

logical sites and the police beat :

But talk always returns to the

impressed and few left their homes. More recently, local residents gave the government a taste of what could happen if it tried to force the issue. The authorities are extremely sensitive to any threat to Egypt's

enough to feed your family.

what they're up against.

My reverie is abruptly inter-

the village's latest controversy. "Ya Siona, do you think they can move "Let them try," shouts the old pat-

will go live in their concrete boxes."

ancient Thebes, Hag Ahmed is talking about the government's plans to move villagers from their homes in what has been designated a "protected antiquities zone" to a new

aged or even stolen by the local peo-

Habu. The consensus among Hag clas, is that the bureaucrats in Cairo that tourists won't see the poverty in which they live.

scrapings and that the heart would be reburied decorously at Meirose in the spring.

A non-metallic coffin is likely so that, in the words of the Historic Scotland spokesman, "no one feed my animals?

with a metal detector or spade rim of the glass gave it the name. Subsequent development of other

strong appetiser variations such as domed concrete boxes appeared on the barren desert site where the new village is to be built. They had serves it today — the Old Fash-ioned. — Pierce Fenhagen, Rawdon, little in common with the large extended family homesteads that people traditionally inhabit and

A Country Diary

S MIDNIGHT 12pm or 12nm?

- Roy Nicol, Toronto, Canada

Answers should be e-mailed to weekty@querdian.co.uk. faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. Readers with access to the Internet Notes & Queries via the new site at

Any answers?

F it were possible for a big spaceship to reach the point in the universe where the Big Bang there now? — H A Haley, Barrow-

the "Manhattan" left the original

cocktail with the name that still

new King Robert from DNA

can digit up".

Quebec, Canada

/ / HAT is the most commonly

THAT is strange. I, too, thought that Mexican waves invariably avel in an anti-clockwise direction occurred, what would it find Perhaps your television set is up side down. — Neil Solomon, Auch n-Furness, Cumbria

Pontac, London

that they were being sent off out o sight to a slum in the desert. So Hag Ahmed and the other villagers are doing what they have always done when Cairene bureaucrats interfere with their

basty retreat under a hall of stones

In the many afternoons spent sit

As I drain the teacup the talk turns to the relative merits of customary versus civil land registration, and whether the government can turn tenants off its land. Hag Ahmed launches into detailed description o how legal precedent has worked in the tenant's favour. Illiteracy notwith standing, he knows the minutiae of land law and price fluctuations better than most bureaucrats.

tourism industry, which is just recovering from three bad years caused by Islamist unrest. When the police were brought in to demok ish one of several thousand illegal new buildings in Gurna in April. hundreds of villagers blocked the roads. Coachloads of tourists were unable to reach the area's archaeo

ting against the mudbrick wall of Hag Alumed's house sinoing tea, my husband and Chave spent long hours discussing crop prices, being tested on the Coptic calendar (which Upper Egyptian farmers still use for agricultural purposes) and lectured about the best way to grow wheat.

land. Who bought which piece, the rise and toccasional) fall of prices inheritance disputes, different types of ownership, the pros and cons of formal registration (which is rarely done). Land is wealth, pride, reputation, everything - even when it is just a tiny plot that doesn't product

The planners in Cairo don't know

woods here, just before the turn from summer to au-

HERE is a hesitancy in the tumn, a pause before any outward sign of change. This is a moment in the secret ripening of seeds and spores, a drawing-in of growth, a time characterised by bracken.

Paul Evans

Throughout the woods and on the hillsides, this tall pervading fern has the power to unlock mood from the landscape. Just as bracken's rigid greenness and dark, peaty scent releases almost achingly sweet childhood memories, so i also forms a bridge between the world as we experience it now and one from which we evolved — a world far older than the deepest reaches of our imagination, a world which haunts and now disturbs us.

Bracken has its origins in the carboniferous period 350 million years ago, long before the appear ance of flowering plants, in the swamp forests which vanished and laid down coal. Bracken, like most ferns of the modern world, evolved its current form during the last 100 million years. We humans, who in just an evolutionary twinkle of an eye, emerged and learned to burn that coal, have learned to fear the

racken.

Bracken, Pteridium aquilinum, is using powerful herbicides, but

Quick crossword no. 331

10 One catching

extra put in

13 Induced sleep-

like state (8)

6 (see 1 down)

18 Performs -- a

book of the

Bible (4)

19 Carry (4)

focdstuffs (8)

12 Something

smugglers (10)

Fear of the fern the commonest fern of Europe and North America, a cosmopolitan inhabitant of woods, pastures, heath and hillsides. It is distributed in the Old World from the Equator northwards into Arctic Europe, into China, Kamchatka, Japan, the Indian subcontinent, Java, the Philippines, New Zealand; and in the New

World from sub-arctic Canada southwards to Mexico. In recent years bracken has been spreading across Britain, Farmers, conservationists and scientists have become increasingly alarmed at what they see as an invasion. For bracken is toxic: its encroachment smothers vulnerable wild plant and insect populations; it acidifies the With the ending of these practices soil and therefore the run-off water; and changes in upland grazing It reduces available grazing and so regimes, bracken has been released changes traditional land management regimes; and its spores, now

being released, have been discovered to be carcinogenic. All in all, this fern is seen by many as a dangerous agent of environmental change. Unlike invasive alien species which usually bear the brunt of ecological concerns, bracken is as native as they come. This is an invasion from within, nature's fifth column, a green and growing retribution. hillsides carry unimaginable pasts into the future. Should we fear this There have long been attempts to fern? Give it a thousand years.

tainty into an increasingly chaotic

natural world. But our fears about bracken are recent. There is strong archaeological evidence to suggest that the underground rhizomes by which it spreads, and the croziers (the unfurling fronds in spring), were an imporant part of the diet of prehistoric people. It was traditionally valued for fuel, livestock litter, thatch, compost and a host of minor uses, from rainmaking to contraception. Burning bracken for potash, used in glass and soap manufacture, was a large industry in the 18th and 19th centuries.

to find its own level in the landscape. This level may have something to do with the clearing of Britain's forests in ancient times. Although the trees are gone, the bracken stayed, and its encroachment marks the preparation for the forest's return. When bracken peat changes the sheep-stricken upland soils, will the trees come back again? In this hesitant moment between summer and autumn, where feelings for nature ripen, the brackeny woods and

Chess Leonard Barden

JET another invitation for the When play started, there was a fa-GM élite, this time from the miliar step pattern as the oldies Bank of Austria, sparked a glut of struggled. If you are over 70, the fourth and fifth hours of play can be draws. As mentioned in our September 1 issue, Polgar gave a good ackillers, and here the world senior champion's position fades from a count of herself. However, Korchnoi fared badly. The youngest GM, Peter bright start; he opens with the Leko, aged 16, has been outclassed Taimanov variation, but White is in recent events, but at Vienna he unimpressed. drew with both Karpov and Kramnik Arakhamia-Grant v Taimanov - and trounced the world No 5, l'opalov. Leading scores were Gel-

1 e4 c5 2 Nf3 e6 3 d4 cxd4

4 Nxd4 Nc6 5 Nc3 a6 6 Nxc6

bxc6 7 Bd3 d5 8 0-0 Nf6 9 Re1

Be7 10 e5 Nd7 11 Qg4 g6 12

Bh6 Bf8 13 Bxf8 Kxf8 14 Na4

a5 15 b3 Ba6 16 c4 Kg7 17

Rac1 h5 18 Qd4 Qb8 19 h4 Rd8

20 Qf4 Qb4 21 Re3 Qd2 22 Rc2

Qd1+ 23 Kh2 dxc4 24 bxc4 Qg4

25 Qxg4 hxg4 26 Be2 Rh8 27 Rd2 Bc8 28 Bxg4 Rxh4+ 29 Kg3 g5 30 Rd6 5 31 Rc6 Rb8 32

Nxc5 Nxc5 33 Rxc5 Rh8 34

Rxa5 Rd8 35 Ra7 Rd4 36 Rb3

Rxb3+ 37 axb3 Rd3+ 38 f3 Rxb3

39 Rc7 Rb8 40 Bh5 Ba6 41

No 2438

Bxf7 Rc8 42 Ra7 Resigns

nik, Leko and Polgar 5, Shirov 41/4.

these have dangers of their own. A 1 e4 c6 2 d4 d5 3 exd5 cxd5 proposal for biological control using 4 c4 Nf6 5 Nc3 Nc6 e6 is the a bracken-eating moth to be intro-duced from South Africa was shelved because of the lack of politi-cal will to release a further uncermuch better reply, aiming at fast de-

fand, Karpov and Topalov 514, Kram-

Topalov v Leko

Qd7! 8 Bxf6 gxf6 9 g3 0-0-0 10 Bg2 Bg4 11 f3 Be6 12 c5 Bf5 13 b4 e5 14 Nge2 Qe6 15 dxe5 d4! For such a good tactician, Topalov's plan has gone horribly astray with a profusion of pawn moves leaving his king uncastled. Leko's d pawn now pushes into the

heart of White's defences. 16 Ne4 d3 17 Nf4 d2+ 18 Kf2 If 18 Nxd2 Qxe5+ 19 Ne2 Nd4 20 Rc1 Bd3 wins at least a piece. Qc4 19 Bh3 Bxh3 20 Nxh3 Qd4+ 21 Kg2 Nxe5 22 Qb3 Nc4 23 Rhd1 f5! Stronger than Ne3+ winning the exchange. 24 Neg5 Rd7 25 f4 Bg7 26

Re8! 29 Resigns. The double threat of Re3 and Ne3+ is too much. The veteran ex-champions isually outgrade the women in Jaap van Oosterom's annual match, but Spassky & Co have lost their past three encounters. The event moves between countries and is named

after a traditional local dance — the

Nf2 Qd5+ 27 Nf3 Bxa1 28 Rxa1

waltz in Vlenna, the polka in Prague. Last month's version, at the London Hilton, was named the foxtrot, a dubious title in the eyes of those who thought the quickstep or morris more appropriate.

·4 5 -∙<u>₿</u>..

L Winants v G Kasparov, Brussels 1987. Kasparov (Black to move) sac rificed a rook for this position. 1 . . c2 2 Qd4+ Kh7 3 Rb8 isn't clear, but Kasparov instead worked out a forced win several moves deen. How does your chess vision compare?

No 2437: 1 . . . h5?? loses to 2 Rxe5+ fxe5 3 Bxg5+ Kf8 4 Rxd8+

summer meeting in Brighton, a new

vay to play bridge was unveiled. British Telecom, the sponsor of he event, has added bridge to its Vireplay online service, which enibles people to play games over a elephone network.

With a PC and a modem, you can og on and challenge people all over the country. The Brighton meeting, Britain's largest tournament by far, utracted more than

Try your skill on this deal from vulnerable, you are not, and this is your hand:

North on your left passes, as does your partner, and South opens with a pre-emptive bid of three clubs.

level opening, and you certainly don't have much. At any rate, South's opening bid is followed by two passes. Partner doubles for takeout, South passes, and you are in the hot seat. What call do you make?

South West North East

to help you take five tricks in defence? Maybe three hearts is safer meant to be taken out. What's your

decision? Suppose you decide to pass. You lead the nine of diamonds - a this dummy appears:

¥1074 **♦J873**

◆K973

king of hearts and leads a small Q will beat the contract and score the "magic 200" - but you can do no more, for declarer's hand is:

Q ♥K5 **Q**6 **A**J1086542.

If, on the other hand, you refuse to overruff, you will later make two trump tricks with the K9 over declarer's jack for a miraculous 500. If you passed all the tests and earned your top score — well played!

derwear or even our hair — any-

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

■ WOULD like to go on Mastermind but I don't have a specialist subject. Which topic of research would give people the Impression that I've spent years in a library, while consuming the least time to master?

THE success story of the Tory government.— Markus Rüttermann, Bochum, Germany

TRY: 1) yourself; 2) accurate unemployment statistics from 1979 to 1996; 3) the successful war on poverty/drugs/crime/pollution, etc. — Tony Beswick, Tapton, Chesterfield

A RE Britons hygenically any worse off than their European neighbours as a result of the absence of a bidet in the of the absence of a bidet in the

I REMEMBER, as a 13-year-old on I a first school-trip to France, being nformed by our rather red-faced PE teacher that the washbasin in our hotel bathroom was for washing "down as (ar as possible and up as far as possible", while the strange "dry loo without a lid" was | maraschino cherry added to the for "washing the possible". We actu- | whiskey and a little ice in a short | can browse through and respond to ally used it for washing our aching glass made a colourful melange. Notes & Queries via the new sit feet at the end of the day, our un-

land, New Zealand

The canister containing Bruce's heart

for Historic Scotland's excava-

tors. On top of overshadowing

nore archaeologically signifi-

cant work at the abbey, it has

nade the government depart-

nent sensitive to possible

charges of grave-robbing.

Officials stressed that there

would be no attempt to clone a

hing but the intended. I can't help

thinking that, hygiene or not,

Francesca Gardiner, Piacenza, Italy

Britons lack the "possibilities". -

APHY do Mexican waves

Invariably travel in an

thern hemisphere?

anti-clockwise direction? Is this

nenomenon reversed in the

THE TERM "cocktail" to mean a mixed drink was not used before the latter part of the 19th century. It was first used in New Orleans to indicate a colourful appeliser created from the local bourbon whiskey. A little bitters, a bit of sugar, a twist of lemon peel, a

The changing air brushed over my skin and a light dew lay on the ground and drew intoxicating scents Hugh Bowles ASADENA, CALIFORNIA: Heat from the Mojave desert, cool from the Pacific ocean: these are from the pot-pourri of fallen sage leaves and artemisia. Walking down the stony path, I saw quail feeding on the track below. Swallows yied for air the rival air currents of southern California's inland valleys. In sumspace over the last of the water while mer the capricious nature of the

breeze has us reeling and rejoicing a heron stood below them, still as a in turn. The ground is baked, the stream beds dry and the water conservation ponds, designed to replenish the aquifers during the rainy season, have shrunk. Little grows, the plants of the chaparral go dormant, many shedding their leaves. | the gravel catching drops of water in Only the oaks and sumacs are prethe crease of their browned leaves pared to hold on to their deep green foliage and slug it out with the heat.

Compared with the verdure of Yet a walk in the arroyo on a cool spring the landscape looked dishev-morning, before the sun poked its ciled. Yet the cool morning carried harsh gaze over the San Gabriel | the reminder that autumnal mists mountains, brought much pleasure. I and rain would refresh the slopes.

garden ornament. A red-tailed hawk

glided on to a telegraph pole from

where he eyed the canyon floor for a

breakfast of rabbit or snake. Peren-

holding them like jewels.

23 Not so much (4)

another's ideas (10) 6 Dead — slow (4)

7 Small nail (4)

CONTRACTOR OF STREET STREET, STREET STREET, ST

1.16 Defoe's castaway (8,6)

Across

Starched,

3 Leaflet (8)

frilled collar (4)

8 Injure with fire (4)

9 Second largest

ocean (8)

17 Unprovoked

20 Deep open

22 Torn into

attack (10)

chasm (8)

21 Overlook - a

14 Dull, or

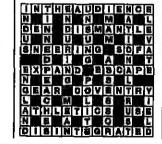
15 1,16's

11 Cemetery (10)

perception (6)

manservant (6)

2 Savageness (8) 4 Lawsuit (6) 5 One stealing



Last week's solution

over a 10-day period.

That's a little surprising, since diamond ruff is likely to be your everyone at the table appears to best chance of extra tricks — and

Bridge Zia Mahmood

Neither of the first two players "TOPLAY bridge, you need four people, a table and a pack of could open, South's pre-empt would cards." Many beginners' texts start normally deny the values for a onewith this basic requirement, but I regret to announce that they're going to have to rewrite the books! At the English Bridge Union's

4J103 ♥AJ63 **4**95 **4**K973

Your choice is between three hearts and pass. Your opponents are vulnerable, remember, so if you can defeat three clubs doubled by a trick, you will score 200, normally one of the main events, the pairs | an excellent result at pairs on a

championship. Your opponents are part-score deal. But will your passed partner turn up with enough - after all, takeout doubles are **◆** A K 9 7 4

Your partner wins your diamond lead with the king and returns a low heart. Declarer, South, plays the king, which you win with the ace. You play a second diamond to your partner's ace, declarer following with the queen. Partner cashes the mond, and declarer ruffs with the ten of clubs. Over to you. If you overruff with the king of clubs, you

Shot in the head

Anybody who is anybody is in Anton Corbiin's new

meets the man who thinks glamour is a dirty world

NTON CORBIJN is one of

the best portrait photographers around. He has shot

everyone. Everyone. When the London-based Dutchman tele-

phones, legends say "When can you

requests for shots for the mantel-

piece (at no charge, of course)

which is all part of jet-set etiquette.

I have a lot of friends so it's hard

not to do it," Corbija says from his

office near Shepherd's Bush mar-

ket. "I get a lot of money for a lot of

projects — for others, none. There's

Corbijn's latest book, Star Trak, has just been published by Art Data/Schirmer Mosel (£42), It aims

to correct the misconception that

Corbijn shoots only music types,

They get in, too, but he also has the

kings and queens of pop culture; William S Burroughs, Quentin

Tarantino, Johnny Depp, Dennis

He doesn't make people look

beautiful. Some pictures are unflat-

tering and that's the point. They

bring out the human side of his sub-

jects, hinting at complex lives full of

forment, reflection or even giddi-

ness. We see a solitary Frank

Sinatra in an empty l'alm Springs

restaurant or Bryan Ferry unrecog

Corblin is critical of glossy studio

star shots, such as those in Vanity

Fair magazine. He calls them "what

you see is what you get" photo-

graphy because they say nothing

after the first viewing. In contrast,

he wants us to revisit his pho-

tographs often and catch something

new each time. So he won't reveal

limensional if we know their story.

PR WATSON once mentioned — flinging it into the conversation

like a pebble in a puddle — the Re-

pulsive Story Of The Red Leech. He

did not elaborate - the world was

Roy Sawyer, a bare-legged North

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks-Smith

Leech of the Amazon.

nisable on a Newcastle street.

Hopper, Christy Turlington.

a good balance."

Many of them contact him with

book of portrait photographs. Howard Rombough

Poliakoff's shining return

Blinded by the Sun

Lyn Gardner

THERE is something positively Jacobean about Stephen Poliakoff's latest play at London's National Theatre, half mystery thriller and half revenge tragedy and always wholly compelling even when it seems intent on winding itself into intricate knots.

The Latin inscription at the entrance to Magdalen College Oxford's old Daubeney science laboratory - "without experiment it is not possible to know anything adequately" - dominates the stage, conjuring up a university's shabby chemistry department with a glorious past but uncertain future,

In a final act of either inspiration or revenge, the retiring head of department appoints Al, an unsuccessful scientist but efficient administrator, as his successor. Al's mission is to reinvent the department, attracting sponsorship and students. But he doesn't count on the intransigence of Christopher and Elinor, who pursue their own scientific research with an apparent ruthless purity of purpose.

Scientists, suggests one character, are the conjuror's favourite audience because they believe everything they see. So it proves as Christopher announces he has developed the sun buttery - an endless source of non-polluting energy. Everyone has reasons for wanting to believe him, but it is Al who turns detective and unravels a kind of truth. A kind of truth

the truth is a slippery, squidgy thing that it is difficult to get a firm grasp on and which is almost entirely a matter of perspective. Al may convince himself that the

colour-coded evidence he keeps in plastic bags constitute the real story of what happened but, as Elinor points out, you cannot reduce everything to nice neat patterns. We never know for certain that Christopher's discovery was fraudulent, and in the wake of what becomes known as "the occurrence", Al prospers, building a successful career as a popular science pundit. He ends up destroying the past while paying lip service to its traditions. The old chemistry lab is pulled down to make way for a department of media studies.

On its simplest level, Poliakofi tells a gripping story of scientific fraudulence and the changing face of modern research in a free market economy where ideas and discoverles only have any currency if they are marketable. But the play goes far deeper than that, investigating the selective nature of memory and the relativity of truth, and serving as a metaphor for the way we make biased selections from, or falsify, the past in order to construct an ac eptable future for ourselves.

It is beautifully acted by Frances de la Tour as the ageing Elinor, a dinosuur in the new scientific world, Duncan Bell as the suave, selfdeceiving Christopher and most of all by Douglas Hodge who suggests that behind Al's flabby exterior and hizy vowels there may be a steely brain. A welcome return to the

because, as in all Poliskoff's work, | National and form for Poliskoff.

Edinburgh for four perforremarkable show is Robert of staging the piece for almost

Sheep might fly . . . Robert Wilson's stunning setting for Four Saints In Three Acts PHOTO: MURDO Medicio

there are four acts, elided and

overlapped, with scenes some-times reduced to a single line or

repeated and re-ordered. And

Thomson's score, wry and un-

portentous, with Erik Satic as its

guardian angel, catches the tone of Stein's text perfectly.

Wilson's production discards

most of the scant staging infor-

mation the libretto provides to

Thomson's perfectly. Each char-

acter is given his or her own ex-

quisitely drawn and coloured

image out of some Oz-like fan-

mapped in slow-motion choreog

raphy, while dream-like symbols

weave around them. It is beguil-

tasy world, their movements

create a dramatic world that

counterpoints Stein's and

Give the man a halo

OPERA

Andrew Clements

/IRGIL THOMSON, composer and vitriolic critic, died in 1989 at the age of 93. He had combined his two trades for most of his life, but he is best remembered now for his writing, witty and often cruelly partison; the most enduring of his music was his early work, composed in Paris between 1925 and 1940, and the most famous of those pieces was his first collaboration with Gertrude Stein, the opera Four Saints In Three Acts.

Houston Grand Opera marked Thomson's centenary earlier this year with a new production of Four Saints, and now brings it to mances. Director, designer and general moving spirit behind this Wilson, who cherished the idea 30 years before Houston finally

gave him the right opportunity. It is a perfect vehicle for very witty; if Wilson's treatments of mainstream operas in the past have often seemed achingly Wilson's stage magic — an opera with no narrative thread, almost laboured and po-faced, Four Saints appears to have allowed no plot, and a structure that subhim to relax and enjoy himself. verta the whole notion of dramatic form: despite the title That enjoyment certainly gives

> sense of enthusiasm. It's impossible to imagine Four Saints better, more convincingly presented than it is here; the leading performers — Ashley Pumam, Sanford Sylvan, Gran Wilson, Marietta Simpson and Wilbu Pauley — sing their lines stylishly and meaningfully, as if Stein's litany of non sequiture was as potent as a libretto by Da Ponte or Boito; the chorus move with well-oiled elegance, and the Royal Scottish National Orchcatra under Richard Bado is crisp and attentive. It may not be an opera to experience more than once, but Wilson's exceptional visual imagination casts a spell which lasts at least for the

the Houston performance a real

Out of breath in Hong Kong

Jonathan Romney

solving the sundry technical problems. He communes with Horatio by means of a shadow-image. In a duologue with Claudius he swivels a table to become each character in a double with quick changes and a filmic image seen from the point of view of a rapier-tip. But however much he rings the costume changes, the characters all end up sounding

able walls on to which video images are projected. Indeed the opening credits are flashed on to them as i we were at the movies. But the middle wall is a rotating rectangle which shifts constantly from the horizontal to the vertical and which contains a central aperture leading to all manner of trompe-l'oeil effects; at one time the bearded, long haired, booted Lepage rises through it to emerge swathed in a billowing white gown that transforms him into Ophelia.

said than on Lepage's cleverness is turn. In the duel he combines use of like Lepage. Text is subordinated to

Of course, Lepage is a visual wizard but his genius is at its best when he is exploring his French-Canadian roots or when applied to 20th century Symbolist works. His work on Shakespeare, however, from his wet Dream to his foreshortened Coriolanus, always seems emotionally underpowered. In Elsinore, for all the breathtaking skill of Carl Fillion's design, he seems to be holding the mirror up to art rather than

■ MAGINE this, in distorting wide angle. Cool customer wearing shades walks in slow motion along the corridors of a Hong Kong gam-bling house, trailed by a hand-held camera . . . No one looks up as he walks in . . But suddenly he has both guns out, and bodies are diving to the floor, with blood gushing into on reluctant clients.

want to scream to escape.

follow-up to Chungking Express, her beloved killer — she sifts the Asian God and by night, it's only natural things through his garbage, then spends breathless.

rubber dress.

but its erotic charge seems to le purely in the intensity of the romanticism. Wong Kar-Wai is a fetishist for moods - a sucker for the loneliness of the long-distance hitman, of he combination of Reis's lips, a rel ike-box light and a saxophone wall If you buy into this sort of LP-sleeve magery, you'll believe Fallen As gels is heart-wrenching; if not, R looks hollow. Wong Kar-Wai is too confident in the evocative power of killer's slow-motion lope: mere cool

Carolina boy, was always attached o leeches and they to him. (A leech joke is like an oncoming truck. You fight to avoid it but it still gets you.) Spurning the normal life of a North Carolina boy — being descended from the devil and called Caleb and all that - he stuck to his leeches and went to Swansea, the only university offering a PhD in leeches. Hence Christopher Logue's resonant line: "When all else falls, try Wales."

An evangelist for leeches in mod-

ern medicine, he risked everything on a leech farm. The leeches reproduced with brio but the phone never

Bloodsuckers for punishment aire, you don't grudge the man a red

> Matthew Clark is a goldenooking lad. You could put him in a haystack and never find him again. When his thumb was torn off in his car engine, the artery was reconnected but the prognosis was poor. There was no circulation. It was Roy's leeches that kept the blood fluid and flowing for five days.

not yet prepared for the story.

Conan Doyle, being a medical man himself, would have been "I was quite frightened at first," said Matthew. "It was a weird sensagripped by Ann Moir's rather beautiful film about leeches, Return Of tion as if you could actually feel the pulsing of the leech, sucking on the blood vessel." It sounds rather like The Bloodsuckers (QED, BBC1). And helplessly gripped by the Giant breast feeding. He slept fitfully. was wondering whether I was going to wake up with a leech in the bec

you know." I can imagine. The thumb healed so perfectly you can't see the join and he is currently leading in the national rally championship.

Then Sawyer read an old paper about the Giant Leech of the Amazon. It drives a six-inch drinking straw into your body but, if you tickle its tummy, it will let go. (Is this column invaluable or what?)

Surprisingly, it is quite legal to take giant Amazonian leeches home in your suitcase. Even if it weren't, Customs wouldn't be inclined to pry. rang. Now, that really is the stuff of | Carl Peters, who has been work-

on the way to being a leech million | tends them tenderly. He finds they | counter took place, is desolate now. | like Celia Johnson.

unwind best to a bit of Bach. He | Coachloads of Japanese arrive and swung one meditatively from a fingertip, "She's old but she's lovely, a cross between a silmy slug and Vel-cro. You could sit down all night in front of the TV and handle a leech. It relieves stress."

Leeches rippled across the screen fluidly, fluently. The effect

was trance-like. The Amazonian is used for medical research. Carl said: "You've bred them up. You've fed them and looked after them for perhaps a year and then they just come and take them away. You don't really want to give them up." He bit his lip.

ITS SALIVARY gland contains an enzyme that breaks down blood clots. Sawyer said: "I think the secretions from blood-sucking animals are to cardio-vascular disease what penicillin was to infectious diseases."

Look, getting back to this business of watching TV with a leech . . . I saw Trevor Howard only once and it was, coincidentally, on a train. A tube, actually, High Barnet is a terminus where trains go to die and Howard was giving a bit of a performance. His wife was saying "Shirt"

quite a lot. I thought Victoria Wood might be interested as Howard haunted the trip she took from Crewe to Scot-

leave quite quickly. The buffy where Trevor Howard met Celia Johnson is closed. Buffys began to obsess her. Faces started to remind her of scones. At last, at Malton she found

a proper buffy. "This is better. I know we're in the North because I've spotted Swiss rolls on the counter. It's really cosy. It's called Joe's Café because Joe owns it. It's not been themed. Nobody's covered it with posters of railways disasters and called if Buffers." Chip butties were 80p which, if plural seems very reasonable.

Joe's apart, she clearly hated every lnch. The delay, the decay, the danger of dying of dehydration Back at Crewe they were refused permission to film in the buffy. Take my tip. Never cross a comedian who has travelled from Thurso on a bunch of bananas, "Do they think the viewing public isn't ready for the vinyl banquettes, the plastic chairs painted to resemble wood grain Formica, the brimming ashtrays, the stupid bloody promotional bunting? Dismal surroundings . . . grubby lavatories . . .

buttock-resistant seating . . ." A bloke sharing her bench shot a glance sideways and offered her a shortbread. She seems to attract the sort of man who looks as If he land in Great Railway Journeys | keeps pigeons. "No, thank you," nightmare. Ten years later, if he is | ing at the farm since he left school, | (BBC2). Carnforth, where Brief En- | she said in a very ladylike way. Just

Midnight at the Megastore

POP MUSIC Caroline Sullivan

"DOES anybody sell a ticket?" The two Italian girls were buttonholing everyone n the queue and being met with chilly silence. No one was about to give up a ticket to see Suede -- not after traipsing into London's West End to the Virgin

Megastore at midnight for this. Impromptu one-offs in unconventional venues is a Suede speciality, but the band hadn't done one in a white. In fact, since guitarist Bernard Butler quit two years ago, they hadn't done much of mything. The free Megastore show was a way of oiling the wheels before a full tour next month. It was also a means of selling out an entire shopload of their new album, which just happened to go on sale at midnight.

If anyone was upset that pop-dend-deities were dabbling in commerce, it didn't stop them nearly heaving the CD racks over to get nearer the stage. Actually, k wasn't so much a stage as a wooden triungle in a corner of the Soul & Dance department (no room in the Sexually Uncertain Britpop section, probably). The The in the immediate area were covered with plastic sheets - as if this lot would be tempted by Alexander O'Neal — and the fluorescent lights made it as intimate as a bus station. At least you could see which records you were squashed up against. Just as you vere wondering what Mad Professor's Anti-Racist Dub Broadcasts was like, Suede appeared.

The crowd surged, and immediately revealed the disadvantages of record shop gigs. The band, only six inches higher than the audience, were invisible, and the sound echoed all the way to Heavy Rock at the far

But Suede were very good indeed. The acoustics rendered the music a bottomless pit of boomy noise, which happened to gel perfectly with its overblown grandeur. The seven songs were the best showcase for the Coming Up album (which every one bought and had autographed afterwards) Suede

Perhaps inspired by the incongruity, Brett Anderson, briefly visible as flapping black hair, was in pungent voice. Singing in a higher key than usual, he was a whiff of pre-Aids bisexual excess, virtually living out the lyrics to "Trash". They'll kill him in Texas. Lucky he's dropped the babit of spanking

Most of the set were echoaden rockers; "She" was played to the accompaniment of a phone ringing somewhere in the shop, which set things up for the autograph session. Sitting behind the table, Anderson suddenly went all blokelsh, greeting fans with

Jade, aged 16, from Sevenonks



I NDONE by technical gremlins

In Edinburgh, Robert Lepage's Elsinore goes without a hitch at Oslo's National Theatre. It is being presented as a visiting addition to the city's International Ibsen festival; but I have to say that, for all its visual virtuosity, Lepage's two-hour solo Shakespeare show left me stone cold.

Lepage is undeniably a master nagician but his gifts, I believe, are best deployed on works that deal with Expressionist essences: witness his astonishing version of Strindberg's Dreamplay set in a re-volving tube or his double bill of Bluebeard's Castle and Erwartung which played brilliantly with distorted planes and surfaces. But his hi-tech version of Hamlet reduces the play to a box of tricks in which the human dilemma is upstaged by Lepage's visual ingenuity.

Lepage's overall point, I assume, to Nature,

thing androgynous about Shakespeare's creative nature. But the brute reality is that Elsinore is a place of political intrigue and espionage, for much of the time on a war-footing with Norway. Although one of the key themes is Hamlet's sexual uncertainty, Lepage's deter-mination to shift between male and iemale characters tells us more

about his own versatility than Shakespeare's polymorphous perversity.

The focus is less on what is being

the air and (really novel, this) actually on to the lens . . . What should be the next thing you see? A freezeframe, with a little logo in the corner reading Levis or Marlboro? istry of interplay between actors to the faint narcissism of solo display. rette ad, it soon will be. Director Wong Kar-Wai is fated to be the most imitated film stylist of the next few years - and the style of Fallen Angels is so extreme, so definitive, that he could easily end up his own most assiduous imitator. It almost looks that way already — this could

be the work of someone who fell in love with his last film, the delirious Chungking Express, and decided to push its style to the utmost. Fallen Angels is a nocturnal

should be a little unclear. There | her nights alone, masturbating in isn't so much a narrative as a cluster of story fragments, as characters meet, spark, part, then gaze into the neon, wondering what might have been. There's an unnamed femme fatale (Michele Reis) who works for and secretly yearns after a hired killer (Leon Lai Ming). There's a possibly unhinged man (Takeshi Kaneshiro), who forces commercial services — haircuts, ice-creams —

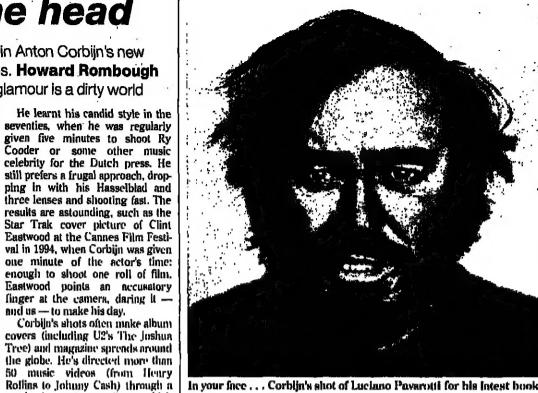
Unpicking the narrative is like trying to negotiate a hall of distorting mirrors, and that's exactly the visual style that Wong Kar-Wai and photographer Christopher Doyle eerily slowed down. At times, you | schoolmate, or Kaneshiro's

The result is oddly alienating you want things to settle into a clear picture, but they never do. Everyhing happens at one remove — all the characters forever posing for gorgeous stills, or leaving each | the speediest urban graphic novel other messages through songs on jukeboxes, as if secondhand romanic ideas were far more real than life. The femme fatale never gets near her beloved killer — she sifts the Asian Godard, but he's certain

This worki seems rife with sex

has become too easy a commodity. It comes alive when the mooning is exploded by reckless s distorted, hand-held, speeded up or the killer accosted on a bus by a mented scenes, giving a dead pigs body massage. It's strictly con strip but perhaps the film is best seen as a comic strip on a fabulous scale. Wong Kar-Wai and Doyle are two flash artists, racing to product

Fallen Angels wears itself and the viewer out, some time before th end - but for thrust, it's in a world the Asian Godard, but he's certainly



the suicide of one of the musicians cape was dominated by an im- (mense sky. You could see the thurch spires of neighbouring vilages. His father was a minister, his nother a nurse. Things spiritual were stressed. Television, alcohol and eigarettes were banned, "It has had an influence on the way I photograph. I'm booking for the personbehind the surface."

After being refused entry to art and photographing bands was a way of getting closer to the stage.

Anton always seems to find one lit Corbijn's often witty images shows his subjects in a new light. Glamour is not a Corbijn word, "I do college, Corbijn studied photo-graphy at a technical school in The Hague, But music was his passion love that there is something else in the picture than just a pure form." he says. "I like to get a feel across, something that can touch you. What

really like is imperfection. It's

are in there I didn't want, but they make the picture better in the end." how his photographs happen be-cause he believes they become one-Corbijn grow up on the island of Hoeksche Waard. He went to the dentist by cance and the flat land-

Cooder or some other music

three lenses and shooting fast. The

finger at the camera, daring it -

Corbijn's shots often make albun

the globe. He's directed more than

production company, State, which

Rolling Stone magazine photo

editor Jodi Peckman puts Corbijn

top of her list. "His photographs are

a 50-50 mix of his personal vision

and style as well as bringing out

emotion and feeling in his subjects.

tle quirky thing about somebody."

and us — to make his day.

good to strive for perfection, but it's not right to get there. Imperfection is total perfection. Sometimes things

He quickly had his work pub lished in the Dutch press. By 1979 he was chief photographer for Oor magazine; that year he moved to

England and called his favourite band, Joy Division, who agreed to be photographed. Magazines weren't at all interested in his atmospheric shot of the band until

or Miles Davis with his weathered hands masking his face, which inspired an Irving Penn album cover and a Gapad. Corbijn has no agent and is tough fee negotiator. As Peckman notes: "He gets a lot of these photos because there isn't so much distraction going on with his shooting, there aren't a million people running around." Corbijn himself says, "! compare myself to a guerrilla outfit.

He went to NME, where editor

Neil Spencer saw his talent, Within

ryear, he had photographed David

Bowie, Mick Jagger and Captain

Beefteart. By now some of his pho-

tographs have become influential

mages — Bowie backstage during

a performance of The Elephant Man-

Howard Rombough is a contributing editor Creative Review magazine

Very small, I go in and get out fast." wall and back again.

ould have wished.

himself with the mike. 'Orright? 'Ow yn doin'?"

in Kent only had eyes for teenaged guitarist Richard Oakes. "Isn't he gorgeous?" she demanded. But he's hardly lived. That's okay, neither have I." What brilliant fun. Suede should do all their gigs this way.

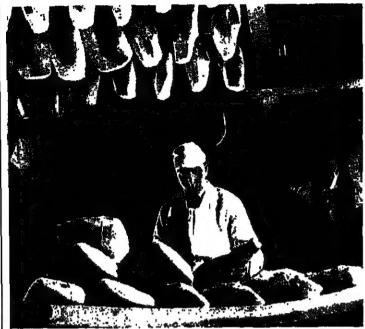
Empiricists at the table

Food in England by Dorothy Hartley Little, Brown 676op £22.50

what English food is? Our culture has always welcomed and ingested culinary influences from overseas with generosity. but so numerous and rapid have the waves of gastro-invaders become that what is indigenous to these shores and natural to our heritage has been submerged beneath a succession of sundried tomatoes, extra virgin olive oils and more.

In such an embattled state it is a pleasure to turn to Dorothy Hartley's Food In England, which was first published 40 years ago. You would have to work hard to come up with a more prosaic title than that and the title in itself is a very English conceit, for the book is filled not just with recipes for the friendly and familiar, but also with recipes for notions and pickles and magica meats. In the index you will find entries for singeing and scalding pigs, raddle marking of mutton, dol-

phins and Dorset moss. The idiosyncratic structure of the book, its rambling good nature, its corners and oddities and enthusiesus, modesty and learning are quintessentially English. Food In England is as English as La Philosophic Du Gont is French. It is as representative of the English tendency



Essence of Englishness . . . Yorkshire hams are said to have taken their flavour from the oak sawdust from the building of York Minster

to cloak romantic passion with empirical detail as Brillat-Savarin's book is of the French passion for disguising sensual greed with prattling philosophical rationalism.

There can be no cloaking Dorothy Hartley's passion for food in all its aspects. Indeed, for her, food could not be divorced from the circumstances which produced it. In the course of her researches,

Hartley punctures a number of

our failure to nurture our own native culinary culture which is most germane. I had always subscribed to the theory that the dire state of food knowledge and appreciation in this country was the result of blockades and rationing in two world wars. Hartley believes that the process started much earlier. Once. she says, it was possible to eat quite well off a small amount of land. The Industrial Revolution put paid to all of that, and to the passing down of knowledge of husbandry and kitchen craft. Successive generations of cooks and food writers have filled this vacuum with missionary zeal for foreign food and recipes.

It is tempting to suggest that the patron saint of post-war food writing. Elizabeth David, in spite of her late conversion to the cause of British cooking, did more to set about the destruction of our own culinary culture than anyone else. On reflection, she was more of a fifth columnist, clearing the way for

Has the food of England any future? Small congregations of British food votaries do still gather to celebrate the steak and kidney pudding and the Bakewell tart, but in truth this is no more than culinary archaeology. If British, or English, cooking is really going to enjoy a proper revival, it must reinvent itself – in the same way that French food has reinvented itself so successfully over the past 100 years.

Food in England can be ordered at the discount price of £18 from Books@The Guardian Weekly

Nicholas Lezard

STRANGE, that an immigrant Hungarian Jew should have done so much to shape our vision of FTER a bloodily self-inflicted ourselves; not so strange that it was his collaborator, Michael Powell, who was given so much of the (by EP's grandson) pays full attention to his achievement: it was Pressburger, we learn, who was primarily responsible for what made their films so special. A mine of useful information, and, is describing Pressburger's vision, humanism and courage, very

Whit, by fain Banks

ODD, engaging novel about the adventures of a member of a loopy Scottish Amish-like sect, set adrift in the big bad world to find her missing cousin. Cue unworldy yet spunky innocence rubbing up against dope, porn videos. Ner Agers, squats, mobile phones and leather trousers. It's actually good fun, and surprisingly good-natured and tolerant, without any typically

God: A Biography, by Jack Miles (Simon & Schuster, £9.89)

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

A but triumphant abortion, the heroine of Jamaica Kincaid's third novel prophesies: "I would bear children but I would never be a mother to them . . . I would bathe them at noon in a water that came from myself, and I would eat them at night, swallowing them whole, all Kincaid, whose home is in the United States but whose semi-autobiographical fiction returns to her native Caribbean, has dwelt obses-

(Abacus, £6.99)

Banksian gross-out.

O NCE you accept the promise that the God of the Old Tests ment can be treated as a literary character, then things begin to fall into place. Miles's reading of the Tanakh — the OT in its proper. Jewish, order - amending the old crucial mistranslation, is revelatory. The Church of England God - that inoffensive celestial social workers indeterminate gender - is unrecognisable. What we have here is the real thing, a personality split un easily between creator and fiend, being worthy of our terror but no our respect - and, ultimately, a vast, reverberating silence.

lames (Serpent's Tall, £8.99)

quate praise. A mental landscape triangulated by literature, socialism and cricket represents an ideal w should all aspire to, and this en nobling and beautifully written book should be read by anyone with the slightest interest in any one of the above (even interest in only one of the above). If the England team were made to read it, not only would they come away with a greatly det ened understanding of West Indian history, but their IQs would leap up 30 points; and they'd never lose s match again. Maybe.

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Down to earth mother

Maya Jaggi on a writer who challenges notions of sexuality, motherhood and mother countries

sively on the love-hate attrition

between mother and daughter, Ad-

mirers of her stark yet lyrical prose

include Susan Sontag, Salman

Rushdie and the Nobel poet laure-

ate Derek Walcott - to whom her

new novel, The Autobiography Of

At the house in Bennington, Ver-

mont, that she shares with her hus-

band, composer Allen Shawn, and

their two children, Kincaid says the

novel was sparked by a realisation

that her own mother "should never have had children". The thought

came as she watched her mother

nurse her step-brother, who died in

January of Aids, aged 33. "It was

wonderful to see how kind she was

to my brother when he was dying,"

she says, then with venom adds:

"She loves us when we're dying -

not when we're thriving because

Kincaid retains the English ac

cent of her upbringing in colonial

Antigua, the island she left 30 years

ago, aged 17. Nearly 6ft tall, she has

the direct gaze of someone with

ample faith in herself. She quit her

job as a staff writer at the New

Yorker last November in a high-

profile row with editor Tina Brown

then we don't need her."

My Mother, is dedicated,

Her self-confessed "narcissism m arrival in New York in the 1960s - bleached hair, an extrovert wardrobe -- was in revolt against ow expectations. As the eldest of four, and the only girl, she was apprenticed to a scamstress, then lucked from school, where she was excelling, and sent to the US as an au pair ("really a servant") — a peiod vitriolically captured in her secnd novel, Lucy (1990).

feels lowered the magazine's liter ary tone with an influx of celebri

ties. The last straw was Brown's

choice of TV personality Roseanne

to guest-edit a women's issue.

A chance meeting opened doors t the New Yorker — "a privileged blace dominated by white men from larvard and Yale, so I was Exhibit " — and she subsequently married the editor's son. In her New Yorker stories, which

grew into the collection At The Botiom Of The River (1978) and the novel Annie John (1983), a young girl's ties to her mother and her isand begin to suffocate her. Harshly guarding her against "the slut you are so bent on becoming", the mother trains her doting child to be servite and ladylike. In A Small Place (1988), a diatribe on Antigua's corrupt legacy addressed to the incoming tourist, Kineaid asks: "Do you ever wonder why some people

Reviews were harsh: "One of the most frightening things for any victor is to have the victim articulate the injustice," says Kincald, "So what better than to dismiss it as anger — it's nothing, a sulk."

Her latest hypnotic monologue i study of power and powerlessness distilled into crystalline prose. Like Kincaid's own mother, the narrator, 70-year-old Xuela Richardson, is a Dominican whose mother was a Carib Indian and her father a policeman. Xuela's mother dies giving birth to her, and her father bundles her off, along with his t"a bully yellow-haired high-heeled woman from England"), who she his laundry woman. Seduced by a low a large event operates within a

single person." Yet that symbolism takes control through a curious can make the desolately self-willed sexual detachment and by refusing to keep his child. She then seduces and marries a white doctor, Philip. Kincaid insists her subject is not

race. "I assume blackness is extremely normal. Powerlessness is the point of obsession for me. But anybody can be powerless, regardess of their complexion." Xuela is, though, a metaphor for the African diaspora, "For Africans, Africa died the minute they were born into the new world. I'm always thinking about

1928 George Schuyler married

Xuela unreal. "She is a character it a limited sense," Kincaid admits, "not as in, say, 19th century literature, like Balzac, She's more mythic and her world is reduced."

Combining authorship with children, she teels writing has made sense of her upbringing: "If one re-peats one's childhood, I'd have had a miserable life. But I fell in love wisely: I marvel at my ability to be kind to myself."

The Autobiography of my Mother is published by Vintage, priced £8.99.



Josephine Cogdell, a blonde, blueeyed Texas heiress and grand-1928. Indelibly associated with the "Harlem Renaissance", the surge in African-American arts and letters of the 1920s, Schuyler in his most notorious essay, "The Negro-Art Hokum" published to the Nation in 1926, was decidedly unsympathetic to the idea of a distinct black American culture and aesthetic, arguing that the African American is "merely

not just in Schuyler's journalism and criticism but also in his fiction. His hilarious satire Black No More (1931; Northeastern University Press, 1989) lampoons major black figures such as W E B DuBois and Marcus Gardey, while ridiculing American "colorphobia". The plot concerns a black scientist who intempts to explain the trajectory of skin. Chaos ensues when the entire black population takes advantage of it; the problem is, the transformed writings a more complex and enig- | Blacks are a shade whiter than Caucasians. So an absurd new racism prises, since being ultra-pale betrays

daughter of slaveowners. They both believed intermarriage would "invigorate" the races, producing extraordinary offspring. Their only child, born in 1931, seemed to enbody this theory: she could read and write at the age of two, play the piano at four, had composed more than 200 musical works by the age of 11 and performed at Carnegie Hall at 12. As a prodigy, Philippa received phenomenal attention from the US media. As a mature artist she had to contend with the double eopardy of race and gender in the elitist US classical music milieu; so she travelled constantly abroad, performing for presidents and monarchs in some 50 countries. Her ostensibly glamorous life, however,

manuscript-in-progress, The Negro

suffering . . . I am not a Negro, and won't stand for being called one. . It makes all future effort on my part to forge a worthwhile niche for myself in society where I will be accepted as a person not as a strange

curiosity useless." In 1966, she told friends: "My fa ther's way-out extreme right conservatism has been an extra factor in segregating me. For some reason, ne has chosen to be politically on the same side of the fence as the most prejudicial whites in this country ... He attacks in his columns the people who might help me and i friendly with the people who won' have me.

Later that year, she went to per form in Vietnam, and the experience prompted a racial reawakening which caused her to write to her father: "I am not going to cravenly ac-

It was to be her last letter. Three days later on May 9 1967, aged 35, three passengers killed in a helicopter crash north of Da Nang.

But perhaps the epitaph for Schuyler's perversely unpredictable stance lies in an observation by historian John Henrik Clarke: "George got up in the morning, waited to see which way the world was turning, then struck out in the

Five Easy pieces

Lucretia Stewart

A Little Yellow Dog by Walter Mosley Serpent's Tail 266pp £12.99

WHEN I had finished reading A Little Yellow Dog, I went out and got all four of Walter Mosley's previous hasy Rawlins novels and read them straight through. I had loved A Little Yellow Dog and 1 wanted to see if the others were as good. If I say that they are, it doesn't mean that Mosley isn't getting better. To write five novels about a character as interesting and complex as Easy and never to flag, never to miss a beat, is pretty amazing; when you take in that it isn't just Easy who is brilliantly portrayed but also his friend. Mouse, and a whole host of other subsidiary characters who reappear throughout the ocuvre, Mosley's achievement become even more impressive.

The Easy Rawlins novels to date are set between 1948 (Devit In A Blue Dress), when Easy has just come out of the army, and 1963 (A Little Yellow Dog) when Kennedy is in the White House, Life has never been easy for a black man in the United States and then was even less so. Easy comes from Texas and grows un expecting a hard time. He doesn't want much: a house of his own, a woman to love, a decent life for his children, enough money. But every time there is trouble, he is the obvious suspect. His personality doesn't help — he is more intelligent than is good for him and, while realistic about his own weaknesses. not so good at combatting them. He s tender-hearted, romantic, highly sexed and a little bit dishonest but

then that's the way he's had to be The blame for much of hasy's less than savoury past can be laid at Mouse's door, Easy and Mouse go way back and have been in many a tight corner together. The trouble is Mouse loves to kill Easy knows that, if he takes Mouse along, things will end in tears and worse. Some one will wind up dead. Dozens have But sometimes he needs Mouse Mouse is almost an alter ego, the dark side of Easy, his shadow — to gether they make up the man. And Mouse is married to Etta Mae whom Easy has loved and lost.

Mosley has a robust, realistic attitude to sex. In this respect he is (as writer) much like his character "easy". Indeed, one of the joys of his writing in general is the ease that characterises every aspect of it.

A Little Yellow Dog finds Easy with a respectable job, working for the Los Angeles Board of Education as supervising senior head custo-dian. His old friend and partner skin and curves, presses herself against him and shows him a wonderful time and he relents.

From then on his respectable life is threatened. Mouse comes out of retirement with predictably violent consequences and all is not well that ends badly. In Easy's world, there are no easy solutions.

Good fairy, bad habit

Philip Pullman

The Natural History of Make-Believe: A Guide to the Principal Works of Britain, Europe and America by John Goldthwaite Oxford 386pp £20

THERE is a comfortable view of children's literature which holds that the best of it is British and the best of all is that produced in a Golden Age which lasted from Alice to Winnie The Pooh. Sage commentators have always looked further and seen more, but the comfortable view exemplifies the regrettable tendency of a certain section of the British - more precisely, English - middle classes to

overestimate their own charm. But here is a book with a different view, and with a moral. The moral is that "Make-Believe can be an education in the fullness of reality or a schooling in intellectual fraud" - and John Goldthwaite means it. Make-Believe is not frivolous - or if it is, then it will teach a frivolous attitude to life. And it's very old: he traces it back to the Book of Proverbs, and relates it firmly and intriguingly to the (female) Wisdom of God, the Sophia, who turns up in various guises. Mother Goose, Cinderella's

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Fairy Godmother and Pinocchio's

Ralinious, Poetry, Childrens'. AUTHORS WORLD-WIDE INVITED MINERVA PRESS

Blue Fairy, for example, are all avatars of this principle.

in the course of this excursi through the world of Make-Believe, Goldthwaite flushes out some monsters, the ugliest of whom by some way is CS Lewis. Lewis was "either the most obtuse children's author who ever lived or the most fatuous. If the latter, the word evil springs to mind, and, if not evil, then cer-tainly the word shame." Tolkien

fares little better: "Very seldom does one encounter emotion this fraudulent and writing this bad In any genre." All perfectly true. He finds the heart of children's literature in Pinocchio. He claims: "what we have here, addressed to the understanding of children, is . . . a literature o the Holy Ghost". He's not inviting us to succumb to religiosity: he's demanding that we take it

seriously. In Pinocchio he finds the most passionate and gracefu (grace-full) of all children's books, one in which moral truth and comic invention run along so closely together that it's hard to tell which is which.

There are brilliant insights in every chapter. Time and again he pins down a writer with an accurate skewer: "Andersen was not a children's author, I think, but someone pretending to be a gifted child in order to impress the grown-ups with his skills." But what most impresses is the moral passion that informs the book. Profound, important and true, this is the work of a wise and imaginative reader who knows that books teach and that we had better be serious about children's books, because they

Chronicle of a drift right

Maya Jaggi

Death in the Andes by Mario Vargas Llosa Faber 276pp £15.99

Making Waves by Mario Vargas Llosa edited and translated by John King Faber 360pp £20

myths that have come to dominate

contemporary food thought. A prime example must be the unsuit-

ability of the Mediterranean diet as

far as Britain is concerned. She

makes the point that while the Sax

ons, Danes and Normans all left

edible marks upon our culinary cul-

ture, the Romans left nothing aside

from a tradition for growing vines in

rces, or sinchis. the Senderistas' trail of brutality as viewed by the missing men, by

teach more profoundly than

■N 1983 Mario Vargas Llosa, star among Latin American boom novelists and later the nearly man of Peru's 1990 presidential race, accepted his first political commission. He was sent to help investigate the mysterious deaths of eight journalists in the Andes, in terrain inhabited by Quechua Indians and

bloodily contested by Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrillas and counter-insurgency Death In The Andes draws obliquely on that trip. At a remote Andean camp for workers building a sierran highway, and in an atmos-phere of growing menace, a pair of Civil Guards probe three disappearances — of a mute, an albino and an

ex-mayor. The bafflement of the stolid Corporal Lituma (whom Vargas Llosa aficionados will recognise from earlier novels) is spliced with tourists stoned to death, and by villagers set upon each other through fear, ancient grievances and "darker

Vargas Llosa alternates this catalogue of violence with erotic reminiscences from Lituma's broken-hearted colleague, Tomás Carreño. Once a drug baron's bodyguard who stole his boss's girl, Carreño's romantic idealism comically frustrates the coarse Lituma,

suspect the bisexual bar owner Dionisio and his "witch" wife Adriana, who run an orginstic cult of drunken self-abandonment. They lead astray locals obsessed with apus - mountain gods with a thirst for blood sacrifice.

Where in his early novels he attacked the privileged for corruption. here he turns his contempt on the "backward", illiterate poor, It is almost as though the author drops his liberal veneer to curse with Lituma: 'Superstitious pagan sons of bitches

how could they behave like naked, savage cannibals? . . . guys like these who played cards, who had been baptised For pre-Hispanic rites to symbol-

ise the Sendero Luminoso's orgy of bloodshed is one thing. To blame the residual beliefs of Peru's moun-Indians for that bloodshed and, implicitly, for the wider failure of democracy — is a travesty. It suggests deapair at those who cling to their own "fictions" at the expense of seeing the "truth" - Vargas

Llosa's truth. It is instructive to read the novel alongside John King's thoughtfully selected volume of essays, Making Waves. They trace an intriguing literary and political trajectory, from Vargas Llosa's youthful backing of the Cuban revolution, through his rightward drift to a form of Andean Thatcherism, his campaign plat-

In his account of the 1983 Andea investigation, he registers palpable shock at encountering the "otherness" of Peru's unassimilated Indians. Yet why, he concedes, should they have faith in a "rule of law" which its corrupt officers have persistently weighted against them? Sadly, that insight is lost in his latwho is forever egging him on to est, bleak parable.

Fighting race relations

Margaret Busby

Ethiopian Stories by George Schuyler compiled and edited by Robert A. Hill Northeastern University Press £14.95

Compositions in Black and White: The Life of Phillippa Schuyler by Kathryn Talalay Oxford University Press £18.99

ARLEM'S answer to H L Mencken, the African-American journalist and satirist George S Schuyler, was by the time of his death in 1977 a rightwing extremist who had alienated much of the black community with views that were antipathetic to the nationalistic and civil rights movements. Yet his his life have labelled him an assimilationist, but on the evidence of his

matic personality was involved. Born in 1895 to parents whose pedigree, he claimed, had bypassed enslavement, he served eight years labourer, stevedore and hobo, be-

lampblacked Anglo-Saxon". Iconoclastic racial themes figure

the possession of black blood. The outcome of his attempt to in the army, followed by periods as a clerk, porter, dishwasher, cleaner, from Kathryn Talalay's poignant book. Everyone here thinks of me biography of his concert-pianist as Latin, and that's the way I want it. daughter Philippa Duke Schuyler. | Anyone who had any paternal sentizine The Messenger, from 1923 until | Composition In Black And White. In | ments would want a child to escape | other direction."

hid a deep unhappiness: "I am a | cept segregation. Nor will I bring up I'm not accepted anyplace, I'm always destined to be an outsider." Desperately trying to reinvent herself, Philippa Schuyler began to "pass" for white. Writing from Europe to her mother she demanded to be omitted from her father's

Mouse, has gone straight too and is working for him as a janitor. One morning when Easy turns up at 6.30 as usual at Sejourner Truth Junior High School, Mrs Idabell Turner. one of the teachers, is in unusually her husband wants to kill her dog and would Easy please, please take Philippa Duke Schuyler was one of 1 the dog just for a little while? Easy says no but then Idabell, all brown

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Doubles

Another upward curve

timed everything to perfection all afternoon, won her fifth US Open and 21st Grand Slam tournament

with a 7-5, 6-4 victory over Monica

Seles just before the skies opened

This was not the stupendous epic

of last year when Graf defeated

Seles, playing her first major tour-

nament since being stabbed in April

time the electrics were of the heav-

It was, however, immensely com-

petitive, with Seles displaying that

fierce tenacity during the first set

that so marked her out prior to the

though. The thought of her father

Peter's trial on tax evasion charges

in Germany, which opened last

on Sunday, writes Stephen Bierley.

plotted on Steffi's graph

NDER thunder clouds so intensely dark that a bat briefly affected her on court was during flicked across court, believing night had arrived. Steffi Graf, who had Open when she was beaten by the

1993, in three electric sets. This | most natural form of relaxation; this

slabbing. When she was down she serve was great while I really

went completely for broke, and served some weak ones. She kept

there were times when Graf was | the pressure on the whole time.

forced to concede. Not very often, | Steffi was hitting tons of winners

15-year-old Martina Hingis of

Switzerland, whom she defeated

Graf missed the Australian Open

this year through injury but has now won all the other three Grand

Slams, defeating Spain's Arantxa Sanchez Vicario in both the French

certainly appears to apply to the German. Graf served implacably,

hitting 10 aces, two at 100mph and

"At every level she played a little

bit better than me," said Seles. "Her

Work, It has been said, is the

here in Saturday's semi-final.

Slip costs Hill vital win

Richard Williams at Monza

HE ordeal of Damon Hill con tinues. After taking the lead in the Italian Grand Prix on Sunday the world championship leader committed a simple mistake which cost him the outside chance of wrapping up his first title.

Instead he presented Michael Schumacher with an opportunity to bring the crowd to the point of delirium by giving Ferrari their first victory at Monza since 1988. The German crossed the line ahead of Jean Alesi's Benetton-Renault and Mika Hakkinen's McLaren-Mer-

Hill made his customary poor start from pole position, conceding the lead to Alesi. But, smarting from the humiliations of the past week, he charged back to repass the Frenchman. His lead had grown to two seconds when, at the start of the sixth lap, his car elipped the tyre barrier marking the inside of the Goodyear chicane and spun to a halt on the track.

In one sense Hill's race was over as he trudged back to the pits. In another it was very much alive, with his team-mate Jacques Villeneuve now free to est away at Hill's 13point lead in the championship. The Canadian failed to do so when, lying fourth, he damaged his steering in on incident on the 11th Jap.

Three pit stops condemned him to seventh place, out of the points, so the two men will go to Portugal later this month separated by an unchanged margin. With only one further event left on the calendar, in Japan in mid-October, the odds have swung further in Hill's favour.

Hill was candid about the misjudgment that may have cost him his third Italian Grand Prix. "I threw



Hill clipped tyre barrier

t away," he admitted. "I was very pleased with the way the race was going initially and I was enjoying my-self. I've only got myself to blame." He came out of the race with a

neasure of credit among those who heard Alesi's subsequent description of their battle during the first lap when the Benetton, sixth on the grid, shot into the lead within the few seconds before the cars reached the chicane.

The vigour of Hill's counterattack, which saw him carve past the Frenchman at the Lesmo curves and then resist Alesi's aggressive attempt to repass at the Ascari chicane, surprised and impressed his

"When Damon came by he was fighting like it was not the first lap but the last," Alesi said. "From someone who's fighting for the world championship, that surprised me. He was taking big risks." Ninety minutes later Hill's for-

tunes were of little interest to the pile of tyres at the very chicane tens of thousands of flag-waving Ital-

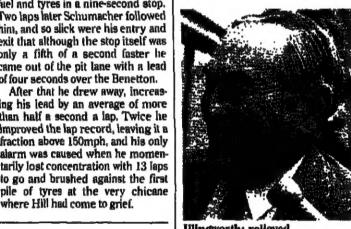
Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Illingworth scores appeal victory

Monza, in the hands of Gerhard chairman of England's selec-tors since March 1994 but Berger, old Enzo Ferrari had been dead barely a month and the victory standing down this week, can leave the game with his head held high tion. Schumacher's win, by contrast, after being cleared of bringing the The heavily reworked F310 is far from being the best car in the field game into disrepute by the Cricket Council's appeals panel at Lord's but Schumacher's genius overrides its defects. On Sunday he drove a

Illingworth was fined £2,000 plus £500 costs in June by the Test and County Cricket Board for making public statements "prejudicial to the interests of cricket", notably an account of his row with the then England fast bowler Devon Malcolm during the tour of South Africa last winter. He always maintained that he was exercising a reasonable right of reply to complaints by Mal-

Illingworth said after the Lord's decision: "I'm delighted with the result. It is a relief that everything had ended now. It has been a long, hard six months but I feel vindicated and delighted that my name has been



Illingworth: relieved RI LANKA, cricket's one-day wonders, gave another superb all-round performance when they defeated Australia in the World Series final at Colombo. The hosts knocked up 234 for three, with Aravinda Da Silva contributing an undefeated 75 off 64 balls. They then dismissed Australia, their victims in the World Cup final last March, for 184. Only Steve Waugh, with a determined 55, and Stuart

AIKE ATHERTON, who be V came the 71st captain of England when he took over from Graham Gooch three years ago, will lead his side on the tours of Zim babwe and New Zealand this winter before England attempt to regain Australia.

THE Five Nations Championship the world's oldest Rugby Union tournament, under threat since England agreed a five-year £87.5 million television deal with BSkyB in June, has been saved. In a dramatic change of heart the other home unions have agreed a deal with the Rugby Football Union.

AYMOND ILLINGWORTH, | agreement with the BBC, which ex pires in May. The RFU made major financial concessions to Wales, Scotland and Ireland during talks last week. For their part the three Celtic unions formally acknowledged England's agreement with BSkyB.

> WIGAN have secured Rugby League's Premiership Trophy in great style after beating St Heleus 44-14 at Old Trafford on Sunday. I was the club's third Premiershi triumph in a row and it brought t an end the Saints' brave bid for the coveted treble, having already won the Super League and Challenge Cup. Wigan were determined to sal vage something from the season and, led by a three-try burst from Danny Ellison, they romped to a crushing victory.

OLIN MONTGOMERIE shot an eight-under-par 63 to win the European Masters by four shots from fellow Scot Sam Torrance, at Crans-sur-Sierre, Switzerland. Montgomerie, who carded 61 in the third ound, finished with a 24-under-par tournament record aggregate 260. He also picked up a cheque for almost £128,000. It was his third Eu ropean Tour victory of the year and took him back to the top of the Order of Merit.

With the soccer season only three weeks old, three Premiership managers and a coach are in trouble with the Football Associa tion for berating referees. Graeme Souness, Bryan Robson, Ron Atkinson and Gordon Strachan have been charged with bringing the game into disrepute. Atkinson and Stra chau, Coveniry's manager and coach, have also been asked for their observations on events during the club's match at Chelsea.

A IKE TYSON destroyed Bruce Vi Seldon in one minute 49 seconds to take the WBA heavyweight title in Las Vegas on Sunday. Tyson, the WBC champion, knocked down his opponent twice in the opening round. The referee, Richard Steele, ended the fight after Seldon took the mandatory count of eight on his feet but was still sliaky. Tyson, who earned around \$137,500 a second for his troubles. Next on the agenda for Tyson is Evander Holyfield. The bout, confirmed on Monday, will

T WAS happy hour for Britain's l top cyclist Chris Boardman as pedalled his way into the record books for the third time in two weeks at the Manchester Velodrome Cheered all the way by 3,000 supporters, he smashed the world one nour unpaced record, becoming the first man to go beyond 56km.

Boardman previously held the record in 1993 with a distance of 52.270km, but was bettered by Switzerland's Tony Rominger, who clocked up 55.29km a year later. Last week the British number one covered 220 laps for a distance of 56.38km to shatter that mark.

Sampras takes his title tally to eight

Stephen Bierley

ETE SAMPRAS stepped on court on Sunday as the US Open champion and left 1hr 58min later having retained his crown and his status as No 1 in the world with a 6-1, 6-4, 7-6 victory over his fellow American Michael Chang.

Chang had threatened both, although many would have found it exceptionally difficult to recognise im as the best player in the world if he had won his first US final here. The most feisty, perhaps, or the most determined. But not top of the ennis ladder. He needs one of them o play half his shots.

For Sampras this has not been the best of years, the death of his coach and close friend Tim Gullikson casting a deep shadow over every tournament he played in.

This was his last chance of a Grand Slam victory, something he has never failed to achieve since 1992. He now has eight to his name, four here, three at Wimbledon, and one Australian.

Nobody was quite certain what frame of mind he would be in here. Now we know. He struggled horribly against Jiri Novak of the Czech Republic in the second round and was brought to his knees in the quarter-finals by Spain's Alex Corretja, but he survived like the chain-

Goran Ivanisevic was polished off in quick time in Saturday's semi- I the memory will be constant.

finals, much as that other big server, Australia's Mark Philippoussis, had been given short shrift carlier in the second week.

And Sampras set about Chang as if he had a plane to catch. Chang was hardly able to hit a shot in during the first set as Sampras unleashed a steady stream of aces and

Chang, like Sampras, almost vent out of the tournament when fellow American Vince Spadea served for the match in the third round. The hottest prospect was undoubtedly Agassi, but Chang subdued bim completely in Saturday's other semi-final.

Sampras finished off the first set with a blistering ace and when he immediately broke Chang's serve at the beginning of the second set the battle already appeared as good as finished. But it is not Chang's way to cave in, no matter how heavy the odds against him.

Back he came, taking the Sampras serve for the first time and building a 4-3 lead. But Sampras quickly re-imposed his imperious form to take the second set 6-4.

The third, almost inevitably, went to a tie-break although Sampras struggled to hold his serve at 5-6, saving a set point. The tie-break was oy no means close, Sampras eventually winning 7-3. His grief at Gullikson's untimely

death was perhaps assuaged. But

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Aston Villa 2, Assenal 2; Leeds 0, Manchester Utd 4; Liverpoor 2, Southermoton 1; Middle-sbrough 4, Coventry 0; Nottingham Forest 0, Leicester City 0; Sheffield Wed 0, Chelssa 2; Sunderland 0, West Ham 0; Tottenham 1, Newcastie 2; Wimbledon 4, Everton 0, Leading positions: 1, Sheffield Wed (played 5, points 13); 2, Chelsea (5-11); 3, Liverpool (5-11)

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE: First Division:
Bradford O, Norwon 2; Grimsby 2, Swindon 1;
Ipswich 1, Huddersfield 3; Manchester City 1,
Barnsley 2; Ordnam O, Shefflold Urd 2,
Portsmouth 1, Port Valo 1; OPP O, West Brom
2; Reading 2, Oxford Urd 0; Southend 5,
Bolton 2; Stoke City 2, Crystal Palace 2;
Tranmore 1, Birmsfry (4-12); 2, Norwich (6-12);
3, Stoke City (5-11)

Football Results

SPORT 31

econd Division: Blackpool 2, Walsall 1; secono Division: Blackpool 2, Walsal 1; Bounnmouth O, Crewe 1; Bnetol City 2, Proston 1; Bury 3, Rotherham 1, Chosterflok! 0, Brantford 2; Gillingham 1, Burnlay 0, Millwall 2, Brastol R 0, Plymouth 0, Notta Co 0; Warffyrd 1, Stockport 0, Wrasham 1, Paterborgucji 1; Mycemba 0, Luten 1; Yerk U, Shrowsham 0

Third Division: Blanct 1, Northernplon 1 Bughkun 9, So niborough 3, Chantaning 2, Tongany 1, Charlett 2, Burton 1, Charlett 4, Swangon 1: Charlet 4, Landah 1: Den actor 0, Distriction Dark tention O. Wigner 3, 1 a mathematic Leading positions: 1, Wegan (% 13), 2, Folkers (% 12), 3, Hartepool (% 10)

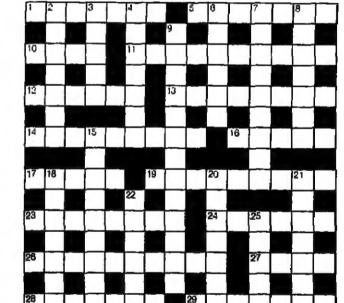
BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Divisions Code, 5, 84 on 10, 0, 16, aris 1, Dua-Roo Diet C, Barnares R. J., Do decides 2, Meltrowe CO, Barnares 1, 10 als 1, 40, aris on 1 L**eading poettions:** 1, Purgor 14-1,9 ... Collected 100, 3, Abordoon (1-2)

Department 13. Acretion 1. Advances to forest belows and the Loading positions:

Second Division: Barage of Ocean , Otyrka O. Deumbarten 1. Eurooption 2. paisen . Steritususporman 1. Ayr. 2. Sterio anni (j.

> Third Division: Amount involves owdert (1994) Green Pres 1 Edward of a 1, Markeys (1 Arrogens 1997) Mag 2 **Loading positions** (1 Agus 19

Cryptic crossword by Janus



Lands one with cat-food (7) Where intellect is needed to

10 Fixed stake over volcano (4) flotation (10)

12 Got to include one by this artist 13 Where planes may land to find

bearings on vovage (3-5) 4 Short on capital for car

from the corners." accessory (9) "I played my best today," Graf 16 Departure from course conditions (5) 17 Deviation from the normal play (5)

19 Engages the attention of those standing to gain (9) 23 Inclination to write music (8)

24 Author having a go at verse (6) foreigners might be wise to shun 27 Bring some back in vehicle (4)

28 Convenient opportunity to make garland secure (7) 29 Properties in Eastern countries

Down

2 Window in the French upper

3 General allowance (5) 4 Where to come a cropper over 6 Going round to the club perhaps

7 Engine to show how lote works? (3-6) 8 One who might well take over

first class in Latin? (7)

9 Equipment for divers about to engage in ablutions underground (9,4)

15 Guides for film-makers (9) 18 Go first or quietly draw back (7)

20 Lays bare former attitudes (7) 21 Row involving caterer (7)

22 Stout female's parent (6) 25 Run for late edition (5)

Last week's solution

INAMORATA ASPIC LRUNUBPC LATER SANMARINO ANIMIST HATCHE R N N E O I DIOESTS GAROTTI

week, has preyed on Graf's mind all I've achieved already." O Guardian Publications Ltd., 1996. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Monchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Layk Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

Cricket NatWest Trophy final Lancashire v Essex Lancashire ride the rollercoaster

Mike Selvey at Lord's

WHEN Glen Chapple re-arranged Peter Such's furniture to complete Lancashire's annihilation of Essex here on Saturday, the clock had only just reached 5.30 and there were more than a quarter of the scenduled 120 overs

Yet in the space of 87 and bit overs the crowd saw two classy sides bowled out, spectacular catches held, stumps flying, ball beating bat, grit and determination at the crease, and great tides of adrenalin washing over the ground as first Esex took control and might have expected to bat their way sensibly to a win, and then Lancashire wrested it back again before

This was a day for the bowlers and good luck to them. NatWest finals have always carried some notoriety as the early September dew renders even the driest pitch as clammy as a politician's handshake, and with the exception of the Warwickshire-Sussex final three years ago - 642 runs for only 11 wickets - first innings have tended to be a struggle, with the toss holding cashire batsmen.

But bowlers suffer too much from the artificiality of the limited- | in the process, and Ronnie Irani, | Lancashire won by 129 runs

of overs bowled, and narrow parameters regarding wides, so it was good to see them get their own

Unusually, the pitch and the atmosphere helped the ball move around all day rather than just in the morning. Lancashire, who lost the toss and batted first, made much the better use of it.

Peter Martin, bowling from the Pavilion End, the less helpful one to away-swingers, snaked the ball up the hill insidiously at times and made the early inroads into the Essex order. Later Chapple, who had found the Benson and Hedges final earlier in the year more chastening as he bowled too short, got it ball exuberantly down the hill to take six for 18, the most telling figures at Lord's in the 33-year history

of the competition. By the end of the Lancashire innings, Essex were clear favourites to win the contest. Despite the loss of a key bowler, Neil Williams, with a thigh strain, they produced sufficiently accurate and intelligent bowling to trouble all the Lan-

Mark flott bowled beautifully with the new ball, castling Atherton

overs game, with its rigorous field-ing restrictions, limit on the number | nationals, was devastating here. nationals, was devastating here, knocking the heart out of the Lancashire middle order. Runs were table scraps, and in that context John Crawley's 66 from 129 balls was a gourmet feast, although he was fortunate not to be leg-before to his first ball. He survived, rode his luck and gave Lancashire the bedrock of what proved a winning

ian fans who stormed the fences and thronged the track to welcome Schumacher to the victory rostrum.

The last time a Ferrari won at

took on the elements of a valedic-

superb strategic race, overcoming

his own poor getaway to profit early

on from the temporary absence of

Mika Hakkinen, who went into the pits to fit a new nose assembly after

hitting a tyre barrier on the third

Holding station in second place,

less than a second behind Alesi,

Schumacher bided his time, waiting

for the Benetton to make its pit stop.

I had quite a lot of fuel on board,"

he said. "and I knew I could walt until

later to stop. Jean's car had a very

take him, so it was the safe strategy

On lap 31 Alesi came in to take

fuel and tyres in a nine-second stop.

Two laps later Schumacher followed

him, and so slick were his entry and

exit that although the stop itself was

only a fifth of a second faster he

came out of the pit lane with a lead

After that he drew away, increas-

ing his lead by an average of more

than half a second a lap. Twice he

fraction above 150mph, and his only

alarm was caused when he momen-

tarily lost concentration with 13 laps

to go and brushed against the first

where Hill had come to grief.

of four seconds over the Benetton.

good top speed and I couldn't over-

to overtake him in the pit stops."

ap, and the early exit of Hill.

was a celebration of rebirth.

Essex will look back on what fol lowed with horror. They missed Stuart Law, certainly, but even the great Gooch, who might have been guaranteed to lead his side home. was forced instead to cling on des-perately, rendered strokeless, and narooned on 10 for almost 45 minutes before Gallian's first ball hit his nck ieg

stumps.

He was seventh out, though, and had looked odds on to carry his bat as Essex — with the exception of Irani, who was torpedoed by Chapple — were genulnely bowled out. Essex's 57 is by 61 runs the lowest total made in a 60-over final; the winning margin, 129 runs, second only to the 175-run drubbing inflicted on Surrey by Yorkshire in 1965. It was an embarrassment.

Scores: Lancashire 186, Essex 57.

Law, who scored 31, made any worthwhile contribution to the Aus-

All Five Nations fixtures will go ahead as scheduled from January to March 1997 as part of the current

take place on November 9.